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NOTES OF TRAVEL AND
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1895.

ART. I.—HALLUCINATIONS.

GHOSTS and uncanny things attract attention with perennial fascination, and create an itching to probe the mystery of their nature and meaning. Science, in vindication of the supremacy of matter, has battled strongly and fiercely against spectres and superstitions, but as quickly as one head is severed the hydra at once presents another. No sooner were witches and fairies, wraiths and pixies demolished, than mesmerism and clairvoyance started up to be in due course shorn of their supernatural pretensions, but only to be replaced by table-turning and mediums. The survivals now comprise projections, astral bodies, and mahatmas. The recurrence of these crazes discloses the irrepressible craving in the soul for the unseen, for something beyond the limits of its own nature. In a Catholic this innate longing is gratified by frequent communion with spirits. With him the dead are not extinct, nor excluded from the range of thought and presence: he speaks with a sense of nearness to saints and angels, he is the instrument of bounty in the realm of purgatory. Spirits and spirit life have for him a homeliness and a familiarity that lessen surprise and deaden curiosity. Those with less faith display more credulity and greater perplexity. They ask, and with some trepidation, what truth underlies the stories of ghosts and appearances, the evidence for which has been well sifted and the facts seemingly placed beyond question. Are they phantasms and hallucinations, mere

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figments of the brain, or have they existence external to the spectator? How can a friend hundreds of miles away appear at the moment of his otherwise unknown death? The facts are verified and authenticated: is the phenomenon capable of a natural explanation?

To throw light on these questions the Society for Psychical Research sprang up some years back. The accounts of ghosts and apparitions, usually second-hand narratives, were as vague and indefinite as the appearances themselves. The members of the Society undertook to thoroughly examine each case, to take evidence at first-hand, to secure written statements, to sift and verify the assertions, and to obtain any possible corroboration. They then met and discussed the case, offered suggestions and explanations, raised difficulties or objections, or arranged for further inquiry. Isolated instances here and there, however well authenticated, could lead to few general inferences, and they early perceived the advantage of a large number of cases where they might collate common features and apply the ordinary laws of induction. A committee was consequently appointed to organise what they termed a census of hallucinations, by which they hoped to accumulate a sufficient number of instances, and also to ascertain the prevalence of these experiences. They enlisted an army of 410 reliable collectors. Each one received instructions to interview twenty-five persons over twenty-one years of age, taken haphazard, and furnish written answers to this question: "Have you ever, when believing yourself to be completely awake, had a vivid impression of seeing or being touched by a living being or inanimate object, or of hearing a voice, which impression, so far as you can discover, was not due to any external physical cause?" To secure an impartial and reliable return, the collectors were enjoined not to put the question to any whom they otherwise knew to have had these experiences, to take the direct evidence of the person himself, and to exclude those who had been at any time subject to insanity or delirium. The respondents in the affirmative were supplied with a schedule on which to furnish particulars. These returns were examined by the committee, further details or explanations requested, in many cases a member of the committee had a personal interview, and all possible documents

and corroborations were obtained. Nine-tenths of the collectors had received an education up to the standard of professional classes, and the informants were mainly their friends and acquaintances of similar standing. The collection commenced in April 1889 and continued till May 1892, thus extending over three years, and the Report (400 pp.) appears in the Society's proceedings for August 1894. The number of persons interrogated was 17,000, of whom no less than 2272 answered the census question in the affirmative.

Before examining the Report and its inferences, some preamble is desirable. The Catholic position is clear about supernatural experiences. No Catholic can doubt that Almighty God permits the appearance of spirits to mortals. The testimony of Holy Scripture alone is decisive, and amongst the many instances recorded in the sacred text the most conspicuous, perhaps, is the mission of the Archangel Raphael, who accompanied the younger Tobias through a long journey in the guise of a man, was seen by many, and only disclosed his identity at the termination of his charge. Throughout the history of the Church the lives of the saints, the chronicles, the records of every age and clime, testify to the frequency of spiritual manifestations. A Catholic may have misgivings about this apparition or the other, but entertains no doubt of their possibility and constant recurrence: his difficulty consists in determining which are supernatural and which are illusions. If they are supernatural, reverence deters him from scrutinising too closely the method in which the manifestation is recognised, for granting a divine interposition God may employ whatever ways He chooses. This does not prevent a Catholic from adopting means to ascertain the supernatural character of an occurrence, or from investigating whether an apparition might be produced by natural causes alone. Should the apparition of a saint be explained by natural operations, God may use, as He frequently does, this natural cause, in the same way as He may restore health either by manifest miracle, or by giving efficacy to ordinary medicine in answer to prayer. The absence of adequate motive for Divine interposition is a striking feature in the census of hallucinations, and helps the tendency to seek for explanation in natural laws known or unknown. The term supernatural in its current sense excludes

the unknown natural, hence the term *supernormal* more aptly expresses the conditions in question: the figure of an angel in the room may be the subjective creation of the brain, or it may be an objective image permitted by God: the term *supernormal* includes both suppositions.

The precise meaning assigned to terms in the Report needs some explanation. *Dream images* are the common stock of all. While the exercise of will, judgment and consciousness are suspended, some mechanism in the brain conjures up apparitions without limit, often a regular drama, at times violent or grotesque in action, and always inducing for the moment a conviction of reality. In the waking state each one has a greater or less facility of forming *mental images*—*e.g.*, the diagram of a problem in geometry, or the figures of a sum in mental arithmetic may be fairly pictured by many, and adepts will reproduce faces and scenes. These mental images are drawn within the brain, and during their persistence the attention is abstracted from external objects. A mental image which the mind believes to be *external* and to have relations to surrounding objects is called a *hallucination*. An external mental image with surroundings that do not belong to the surroundings of the spectator is classed as a *vision*. The presentment of real objects in such form as to induce the mind to believe them to be something else is an *illusion*. The distinctions will be the better understood from examples.

As I descended the stairs to breakfast, I saw Mary (the servant) approaching me from the basement door, dressed, as usual when on an errand, in her brown straw hat, black cloth jacket, and light print frock; and I had only just time to reach the kitchen door to permit her to *pass behind me*, without stopping, on her way to the scullery. The instant I entered the kitchen I observed to my wife, "So Mary has had to go for milk again." "No," she replied, "she has not." "But," I exclaimed, "I have just seen her, dressed, come from the front door; and besides, I heard the door banged as she went out." "It is your fancy," she returned, "Mary has not been out this morning, and she is now in the breakfast-room at work." There was no doubt that such was the case (Report, p. 73).

The image of the servant is here believed to be external, and is seen in connection with the surrounding doors and passages, and the instance is a hallucination.

"I was in my room (I was then residing in the North of England, quite 100 miles away from Miss Morton's home), preparing for bed, between twelve and half-past, when I seemed suddenly to be standing close to the housemaid's cupboard, facing the short flight of stairs leading to the top landing. Coming down these stairs, I saw the figure, exactly as described, and about two steps behind Miss Morton herself, with a dressing-gown thrown loosely round her, and carrying a candle in her hand. A loud voice in the room overhead recalled me to my surroundings, and although I tried for some time I could not resume the impression (p. 85).

Here the images are separated from the surroundings of the spectator and the experience is classed as a vision.

Lying in bed, facing the window, and opening my eyes voluntarily in order to drive away the imagery of an unpleasant dream which was beginning to revive, I saw the figure of a man, some three or four feet distant from my head, standing perfectly still by the bedstead, so close to it that the bedclothes seemed slightly pushed towards me by his leg pressing against them. The image was perfectly distinct—height about five feet eight inches, sallow complexion, grey eyes, greyish moustache, short and bristly, and apparently recently clipped. His dress seemed like a dark-grey dressing-gown, tied with a dark-red rope. My first thought was, "That's a ghost;" my second, "It may be a burglar whose designs upon my watch are interrupted by my opening my eyes." I bent forwards towards him, and the image vanished. As the image vanished, my attention passed to a shadow on the wall, twice or three times the distance off, and perhaps twelve feet high. There was a gas lamp in the mews-lane outside, which shed a light through the lower twelve inches or so of the (first floor) window, over which the blind had not been completely drawn, and the shadow was cast by the curtain hanging beside the window. The solitary bit of colour in the image—the red rope of the dressing-gown—was immediately afterwards identified with the twisted mahogany handle of the dressing-table, which was in the same line of vision as part of the shadow" (p. 94).

That is an illusion.

Hallucinations that involve merely the image and the spectator are termed *simple* hallucinations, but some are susceptible of corroboration from an external person or circumstance. They may coincide in time with an event—*e.g.*, a death, that happens elsewhere, or they may convey some knowledge hitherto unknown, or they may be collective—*i.e.*, occur simultaneously to two or more persons. These are called *veridical* by the Report, for the external relations can be

verified. They have a greater interest and an importance than simple hallucinations, for they imply an explanation not only of the genesis of the phantasm, but also of its connection with the verified event or person at a distance. The following is an example:

It occurred at Bury (Lancashire), about fourteen years ago; I was awakened by a rattling noise at the window, and wakened my step-brother, with whom I was sleeping, and asked him if he could hear it. He told me to go to sleep, there was nothing. The rattle came again in a few minutes, and I sat up in bed, and distinctly saw the image of one of my step-brothers (who at the time was in Blackpool) pass from the window towards the door. Time 2.30 A.M. I was in good health and spirits. Age eighteen. I had not seen him for some time. He had not been home for two or three months. We heard next morning that he had been taken ill and died about 2.30 A.M. Three step-brothers and myself slept in the same room. I awakened them, but they could not see anything. My father, hearing the talking, got out of bed, and came into the room. I told him what I had seen, and he got his watch, and said, "We will see if we hear anything of him" (p. 227).

In the results of the census the large proportion of persons who have experienced some form of hallucination first arrests attention. The committee, however, considerably reduce the 2272 affirmative answers. After examination of the narratives they exclude many that are not strictly hallucinations—*e.g.*, illusions, dream images, images occurring immediately after sleep that were probably the remains of the dream, mental pictures with the eyes shut, vague or indistinct sounds, and other experiences pronounced doubtful. In this way they have transferred 588 cases, a quarter of the whole, from the ayes to the noes. This leaves 1684 out of 17,000 persons, or roughly one in ten, who believe that they have seen, heard, or felt something supernormal. This large number suggests deception, and the Report discusses minutely the sources of error. Intentional deception, refusals to answer, the bias of collectors have, it concludes, no appreciable effect on the numbers, for they influence about equally both ayes and noes. Lapse of memory seriously affects the number of ayes:

We estimate that, in order to arrive at the true number of visual hallucinations experienced by our informants since the age of 10, the reported number must be multiplied by some number between 4 and 6½,

and that in the case of auditory and tactile hallucinations, a still larger correction would be needful (p. 69).

The tendency of errors would rather increase the proportion of ayes. The result is at least startling, but the greater the prevalence of these experiences the more likely are they to be traced to natural causes.

The 1684 cases, in as far as they are reliable, furnish a goodly number, indeed the largest on record, for comparison and analysis. The more numerous the instances the more correct will be the inferences in the inductive process. Although the experiences recorded in the census are sufficiently numerous to justify inferences, allowance must be made for the unscientific character of the evidence and the vague and indefinite nature of the whole inquiry. They become tendencies rather than scientific inferences. Taking the senses affected, 62 per cent. of the reported experiences were recognised by the sense of sight, 28 per cent. by hearing, and 10 per cent. by touch. Of the 494 hallucinations of hearing, 84 consisted of mere indistinct voices, in 233 the hearer's name only was pronounced, and in 177 a sentence or more was heard. Of the 179 tactile cases in only six did the percipient touch the hallucinatory object. Thus the visual instances are the more important and the more reliable, for hearing and touch are more susceptible to deception; sounds, especially at night, are liable to misinterpretation.

The form that visual hallucinations assume and the accessories accompanying the experience are interesting and suggestive. Of 1112 experiences perceptible by sight, 830 took the human form—viz., 352 of living persons, 163 of dead persons, and 315 unrecognised. The proportion of living to dead phantasms disposes of the traditional connection between ghosts and the departed. The living are more frequently in the mind, and the proportion tends to favour the supposition that apparitions are subjective creations of the brain. In dream images the figures of the living predominate. The form of the appearances will be best described by the Report itself:

One of the facts brought out most strongly by our tables is the tendency of hallucinations to assume familiar forms. The ghastly or horrible apparitions dear to writers of romance seem to be very rare

among healthy grown-up people—at least, among those who are educated. The great majority of hallucinations are like the sights we are accustomed to see, or the sounds we are accustomed to hear, and even when they are not so, they often suggest, as we shall see, a sort of incompleteness in a hallucination of a natural object, rather than a hallucination representing something unnatural. In the exceptional cases where the hallucination does represent a non-natural being, we find it assuming the conventional form. An angel, for instance, takes the form with which art has familiarised us, and we should be surprised to find one appearing to a grown-up person arrayed in “blue boots,” like those seen by Mrs. D. when a child.

Most visual hallucinations represent human beings, and most of these represent human beings of the present day in all respects. According to our statistics more than two-fifths of the realistic human apparitions represent living persons known to the percipient, and, of these, 45 per cent. represent inmates of the same house as the percipient, or persons frequently, or (in a few cases) very recently, seen by him, while in another 20 per cent. they represent near relations of his—that is, parents, grandparents, children, husbands, wives, brothers or sisters. In the great majority of realistic cases the apparition represents a single figure only, though there are exceptions.

As far as the reports as to dress enable us to judge, phantoms, both recognised and unrecognised, generally appear in ordinary modern dress, and do not affect old-fashioned costumes any more than real people do. When they move, which, as we have said, happens more often than not, the movement is almost always such as we are accustomed to see. The phantom stands on the ground and appears to walk along the ground, and seems to leave the field of vision as a human being would, by walking out of an open door or passing behind some obstacle. A position impossible for real persons—such as being up in the air—when the figure is otherwise realistic, is very rare. We have only one instance of it. The proverbial gliding movement, supposed to be characteristic of apparitions, is rarely reported. Appearance or disappearance by an unrealistic means is also rare, though there are about a dozen cases in our collection in which the ghost seems to enter or leave a room through a wall, book-case, closed door, or window, or by passing up through the ceiling or down through the floor.

Even when a phantom is stationary, it does not usually either appear suddenly out of empty space, or similarly vanish before the percipient's eyes, but is generally seen by the percipient on turning his eyes that way, and vanishes, he does not know how, or when he is looking away. There are, however, instances of sudden appearance and disappearance in free space (p. 113).

The Report separates a class of 143 cases, which it calls “incompletely developed apparitions.” Although these are not full-grown ghosts they have an interest, for they admit us

into the factory of hallucinations. Here we have transparent and filmy figures with nebulous substance, shapely enough for an idea, but without outline or features sufficient for an object of real vision. Figures draped hazily or shrouded cross the field of vision without exposing enough to identify them, or a partly finished image comes within sight with outline complete, but with details blurred or indistinct. The following are specimens: "I saw the figure of a man which was perfectly transparent, and which came into the room and sat down by my side" (p. 109). "There would be a sort of movement in the air, which gradually took the form of mist, and then developed into a dark-veiled figure, which came nearer to me, and when bending over and about to touch me I threw my hands into it and it vanished" (p. 120). "I distinctly saw—first a filmy cloud which rose up at the other end of the room, then the head and shoulders of a man, middle-aged, stout, with iron-grey hair and blue eyes" (p. 116). Instances are reported of the appearance of a part only of the human figure, the head of a skeleton develops into the head and features of a mother, faces come out of the wall, "two black legs walking towards us, and ending abruptly." These undeveloped apparitions have a semblance to our dream images, and they seem to furnish a link in the chain of evidence to connect the sleeping with the waking dream.

The number and variety of the cases in the census suggest inquiry into what influences or promotes hallucinations. The informants who sent affirmative answers to the census question were in the proportion of two men to three women. Whatever mental or nervous differences exist in the physiology of the female would seem to favour hallucinations. This corresponds with Mr. F. Galton's assertion in his "Inquiries into Human Faculty," that women have greater power of visualising than men. Men apparently forget their hallucinations sooner, for on examining the influence of forgetfulness the Report discovers that the longer the interval of time since the occurrence of the experience, the larger becomes the proportion of women who have been subject to hallucinations. The more impressionable female nature retains longer the memory of such experiences. Difference of age has little effect, old and young see spectres indiscriminately, except that the propor-

tion is slightly higher between the ages of twenty and thirty. In young children the frequency of hallucinations is difficult to ascertain, for their powers of memory and observation are defective. That they have hallucinations is undoubted, and some think that they are specially liable to them. An instance of a child under two years of age who saw an apparition of a person recently dead, is recorded in the *Annales Psychiques* (January 1894, p. 7). The representation of grotesque and fanciful images is a feature in the hallucinations of children. A child's judgment is immature and its stock of knowledge limited, and it is more likely to see distorted or quaint images. In dreams and delirium where judgment is in abeyance, grotesque images appear to adults, another point in the analogy between dream images and these hallucinations.

The statistics of the census slightly favour heredity as influencing hallucinations. No special question was put about relationship, but accidental references in the narratives intimate that in no less than eighty-five families two or more have had supernormal experiences. "In one family, two sisters, a father, grandfather, two uncles and two aunts were all subject to visual hallucinations" (p. 154). In the 129 collective hallucinations—*i.e.*, seen or heard by more than one person, half were experienced by blood relations. The fact of living together only partially accounts for this, since the hallucinations seen by both husband and wife, more frequently in company, are only 10 per cent. In confirmation of the census cases every one has read of ancestral ghosts who are seen only by the family, as also of warnings and appearances at the death of a member of the family. How far these experiences are really attributable to heredity may be open to question; it seems more likely that family tradition renders the form familiar, and induces any hallucinatory tendency to assume it.

We might anticipate that ill-health would prove a fruitful source of hallucinations. A physique weakened by disease or languid through lassitude might be expected to leave the imagination open to spectres and visions, and popular scepticism attributes ghosts to the machinations of dyspepsia and other ailments. The census tends to shatter the current notion that spectres are dependent on a low condition of bodily health. Insanity and delirium were excluded by the collectors, hence,

with the exception of febrile hallucinations, the answers of the informants would include any other illness. The schedule submitted to the affirmative informants contained the question: "Were you out of health?" About 44 per cent. asserted positively that they were in good health at the time of the experience, and 48 per cent. passed the question by without reply. The omission to answer is assumed by the Report to indicate that the informant was in health. It is often clearly inferred in the actual narrative, the tendency is to exaggerate rather than to overlook the connection between the hallucination and ill-health, and the terms of the question might imply that an answer was not required unless out of health. Only 123 cases, or about 7 per cent. report a certain degree of ill-health. In twenty-one the patient was convalescent, and in the remainder describes himself as "in a nervous dyspeptic condition," "in a very low state of health," "bronchitis with weakness of heart," "a little below par and somewhat nervous and excited." So that the bulk of the informants seem to have the full possession of their faculties, and to be in a normal condition of health with no symptoms of disease, except the hallucination itself be regarded as such. Those who are conversant with the phenomena of hypnotism do not admit the hallucinatory tendency to be a disease.

It may be suggested that hallucinations happen to persons who are constitutionally subject to them, and may be traced to something amiss in the mental gear. The Report disposes of this by a table which shows that only a third of the informants have experienced more than one hallucination, and that two-thirds state definitely that they have had one and one only. This favours the supposition that hallucinations do not imply a morbid physical condition. The frequency with which hallucinations occur to those who have experienced more than one varies in this proportion; about one-half "several or many," a third two only, and the remainder from three to six. With some the experiences have been miscellaneous, but with more than half the same experience has recurred with slight variations. In the recurrence of the same hallucination the auditory and tactile show a higher proportion than the visual, which the Report attributes to the smaller variety of form in auditory and tactile cases.

From the influence of the physical condition of the body the Report passes to the effect of mental and nervous states, which apparently have a closer connection with hallucinatory tendency—*e.g.*, overwork, anxiety, grief and emotional conditions. In twenty-five cases the apparition is directly attributed to over-strain of the mind, which is also partially responsible in seventeen others. The following curious incident illustrates the vagaries of over-pressure :

I saw what seemed to be the end of a ladder placed against the lower part of my bedroom window. Slowly the head and shoulders of a man (ordinary workman's dress) appear until he is high enough to unfasten the window catch, an operation he immediately proceeds to try to perform. Place: my rooms at Oxford. Time: always between 12 and 2 A.M. Dates: I do not remember, but at least twice respectively in the winters 1884-5, 1885-6, 1886-7, 1887-8, never since. I was lying sleepless and worried in bed, but in perfect health in other ways, the "worry" due entirely to overwork. Age 24-29. The man was a perfect stranger; actions suggestive simply of burglary. (N.B.—I have never been in any house which has been burglariously entered.) The experiences were always exactly the same. I always regarded it as my sign that I was overworking. As soon as I could rest the hallucination disappeared; if I couldn't rest immediately, it appeared nightly (p. 166).

The influence of grief or anxiety in producing hallucinations is difficult to determine. In one-twelfth of the reported cases mental distress accompanies the supernormal experience, either anxiety concerning the illness or absence of a friend, or grief attending the announcement of death. An analysis of the instances of death news casts a doubt whether the knowledge of the death prompted the hallucination, or the hallucination itself caused the mental disturbance. In cases of anxiety about illness the experience usually occurred during the period of attendance at the bedside of the patient, and may be due to want of sleep or other causes. Altogether, the Report declines to draw any conclusion about grief and anxiety. In certain cases the mental distress evidently created the hallucination of which the following is an example :

When going from Glasgow to New York per Anchor steamer *Europa* on March 4th, 1871, we were overtaken by a severe storm, which somewhat alarmed all the passengers. At 10 o'clock P.M. we were startled by the news that the bridge had been swept away, carrying with it the captain and two principal officers, who were lost. In the excitement the

vessel fell off into the trough of the sea, which increased our fears. We were all gathered together in the cabin, the doctor reading from the Prayer Book, as we thought our last hours were come. While sitting lonely and sad, thinking of my loved ones at home, I lifted my head to look across the cabin, and saw, as I thought, my mother standing with my little boy waiting for me at the sea shore. I saw them very distinctly, just as I had seen them moving about before they died. My mother had died about a year before this, and my boy about six months. Coming to me in this hour of deep grief, it gave me a thrill of real joy. The vision only lasted for a few moments. I was then forty-four years old. About twenty were in the cabin, but no one shared the experience; it was personal to myself (p. 169.)

A more important condition in the structure of hallucinations consists in a state of mental repose, and in circumstances favourable to abstraction or vacancy of mind. It is certainly striking that 38 per cent. of the visual, 34 per cent. of the auditory, and 44 per cent. of the tactile cases occurred when the percipient was in bed, or had been asleep in a chair or couch. In every instance the informant states that he was fully awake, and taking into account how small a fraction of a life is passed awake in bed, the large proportion of hallucinations during that interval is most suggestive. The informant was doubtless in some instances deceived himself about his wakefulness, but in 671 recorded cases of experiences whilst in bed there is strong presumption that a state of repose is favourable to hallucinations. The Report suggests that the mental condition before and after sleep is somewhat similar to the hypnotic state where hallucinations are easily induced. Personal experience testifies to the unique condition of our minds in the intervals of wakefulness in bed, either expecting or trying to woo sleep, or reluctant on awakening to be satisfied that sleep is really ended. This mental state does not recur at other times, it is a borderland between wakeful activity and the oblivion of sleep. In this twilight recent statistics suggest that spirits are mainly wont to walk. We all also experience that dream images sometimes persist after sleep has gone, and occasionally recur spontaneously to the memory during the day; a forgetfulness of the dream and the perception in awakened consciousness of the recurring dream image would create a ghost. The tendency of supernatural experiences to take place whilst in bed supports the analogy between

hallucinations and dream images. The same conditions of silence, recumbent position, quiescent mind, and absence of control of the will promote hallucinations and always accompany dreams. Supposing a common origin, the alertness of judgment and consciousness would account for the precision and definiteness of the hallucinations in contrast with the grotesqueness and instability of the dream image. In confirmation of the inferences from "clinical" cases the statistics furnish evidence of the influence of solitude on supernormal experiences. Of the 1112 instances of visual hallucinations no less than 692 (including clinical cases), or 62 per cent., occurred when the spectator was alone or practically alone, while only 308 took place in the presence of others; in the remainder the circumstance is not mentioned.

Expectancy strongly wrought up will prepare the way for hallucinations if it does not actually create them. The fancied presence of a burglar in the house and intentness in listening will often conjure up sounds. Fourteen cases are recorded of the appearance of the phantasm of a friend whose arrival was expected, of which the following is an instance :

This happened in 1870 when Mrs. E. was aged forty. She was sitting in the drawing-room of an hotel overlooking a park, and was waiting for her husband to take her down to dinner. The drawing-room door was open, and from her seat Mrs. E. had a view of part of the staircase and the intervening hall or passage. He delayed coming, so Mrs. E. ever and anon kept glancing towards the door and out into the hall beyond. At last one time she thought she saw him turn a bend in the staircase and come slowly along the corridor. Keeping her eyes fixed all the time on what she thought was her husband approaching her with a well-known smile, Mrs. E. rose and crossed the room till she stood, as she thought, opposite her husband, when the spectre vanished from before her eyes. She was in good health at this time. In about half an hour afterwards, her husband, detained unavoidably, did veritably come into the room (p. 174).

The prominence given to suggestion in hypnotic experiments marks it as a possible source of hallucinations. A person gazing at the stars soon gathers a crowd round him, a fair proportion of which before it disperses will have seen an imaginary comet and described the shape and length of its tail. The process in supernormal experiences may not be so pronounced, but the probability of their production by sugges-

tion becomes of importance in considering collective hallucinations where several share the same experience. With a predisposition to hallucinations a slight circumstance may act as a suggestion. The following instance will be due, partly at least, to suggestion :

In the year 1883 I was studying music, and used to practise alone frequently in the evening. Towards the autumn of that year, on one occasion I felt some one touch me, and on looking round I saw the figure of a gentleman whom I knew. He was dressed in black clothes, with the collar of his coat buttoned closely round his neck, showing no white collar. As I looked he faded away. This occurred on three different occasions. I was in perfect health at the time, and in no trouble or anxiety ; of full age. I had not seen the gentleman himself for about two years before that occurrence, and have no idea what he was doing at the time. The two first occasions were exactly alike. On the last occasion a young girl was playing a duet with me. She suddenly shuddered and said, "I felt some one touch me." I also felt as if a hand touched my shoulder, and on looking round saw the same gentleman (p. 177).

The imaginary touch evidently suggested the presence of some one, and the image of the particular acquaintance may arise from association of ideas in the past. The second experience is probably suggested by the first, and the third seems certainly induced by the verbal suggestion of the friend. Sounds may easily suggest a visual hallucination ; a noise in the room at night not unfrequently suggests a burglar, and a vivid imagination will see him creep from under the bed. An instance occurs in the "Phantasms of the Living" :

Between sleeping and waking this morning, I fancied a dog running about in a field (an ideal white-and-tan sporting dog). The next moment I heard a dog barking outside the window. Keeping my closed eyes on the vision, I found it came and went with the barking of the dog outside, getting fainter, however, each time (vol. i. p. 474, footnote).

Although this ranks rather as a dream persistence than a complete hallucination, it illustrates how readily the brain supplements in one sense the suggestion of another. In hallucinations affecting two senses it is often uncertain whether the first is hallucinatory or real. The sound or the touch usually precedes, and when the attention is caught the visual hallucination follows. The sound may be real but misinterpreted, and the

illusion thus formed suggests the phantasm that succeeds. Sounds are unduly credited with a supernatural character because they are unexplained rather than inexplicable. The fact of assigning an imaginary result to a real sound may itself dispose the visual organs or the brain to supply an unreal vision. The influence of suggestion in originating hallucinations is mainly a matter of conjecture and necessarily attended by doubt.

The working of suggestion is more interesting in the accessories that accompany hallucinations, or contribute to their formation, one thing leading on to another. In fourteen cases mention is made of the opening and shutting of a door. If the door is really opened by some physical cause—*e.g.*, a draught, the fact would suggest the entrance of some one, but in most cases the door is found in the same position before and after the hallucination. The movement of the apparition towards the door for departure suggests the opening and shutting of the door as part of the hallucination, and even the bang of the door may be so explained. It is remarkable that in upwards of 1600 cases no evidence worth considering is alleged of any subsequent change or modification in external surrounding objects, the apparition does not meddle with material things. Some curious effects are worthy of notice. In four instances the reflection of the apparition was seen in a mirror, and in one the reflection was seen first. Here suggestion may apply: the sight of an image in the mirror obviously supposes a figure to cast it, and *vice versa* if the eyes in passing from the figure rest on the mirror, its presence suggests a reflection. A similar explanation may account for two cases in which the apparition casts a shadow. An example will illustrate the operation of suggestion:

My cousin, Miss S., somewhat older than I, and myself had been conversing in the parlour. She left me. The house door opening into the parlour stood open, the night being warm, and the moonlight streamed in over the floor beside me as I sat, leaning on the sofa-arm, my back to the entrance. The shadow of a human form fell on the moonlit floor. Half turning my head I saw a tall woman dressed in white, her back to me. By the contour and gleam of the plaits round her head I recognised my cousin, and deemed she had doffed her black dress to try a white one. I addressed an ordinary remark to her. She did not reply, and I turned right round upon her. She then went out of the door down the entrance

steps, and as she disappeared I wondered I had heard nothing of a step or the rustle of her dress. I sat and puzzled over this, though without taking fright, for a few minutes. I was unoccupied, ruminating quietly; in robust health, completely awake, untroubled; age, sixteen years about. It was, I felt convinced, though I did not see her face, my cousin (p. 187).

One informant says: "I watched the figure walk right round the room, passing between myself and the candle on the dressing-table (for a moment it hid the light from me), until it reached the hearthrug, when it disappeared" (p. 188). Again, another states: "A finger placed between the eye and the image intercepted it in the same way as it would any ordinary object; in short, the phenomenon obeyed all the optical laws of vision" (p. 141). These two instances raise the question of the relation of a phantasm to the objects behind and before it in the line of sight. In one case an image without substance conceals material objects, in the other intervening objects obscure images which presumably are seated in the brain. In the first the attention is so fixed on the image that the mind is abstracted from the objects on the other side, adverting to them only when the figure directs attention to them, and when a circumstance—*e.g.*, the candle above—does call attention to their presence, the conviction of the reality of the figure unconsciously suggests that it should behave as if real, and hence obstruct the light on passing before the candle. Again, the conviction of the reality of the spectre leads to the expectation that it should be wholly or partially invisible when it passes behind a screen or piece of furniture. Thus the concealment of a chair or other article by the image, or the hiding of a part of the image by an obstacle becomes part of the hallucination through suggestion. The instance recording that objects were seen through the image is explained by imperfect "externalisation"; the more active the imagination the more opaque and substantial does the image appear, as the imaginative power weakens the figure becomes hazy, indistinct, and unsubstantial. Where the reports mention that the eyes were closed the hallucination usually vanishes, and sometimes it reappears on opening the eyes. The fact of closing the eyes is an effort to withdraw the attention, and hence becomes a suggestion not to see the image, while opening them again is in expectation of seeing

it. So also a hallucination "does not usually follow the movement of the eyes, but can be looked away from and back to, like a real object." Here the fact of voluntarily turning the eyes away has the same effect as closing them, and is a suggestion no longer to see the image. In hallucinations affecting more than one sense, and in subsequent hallucinations of the same sense, the scope for suggestion is obvious. In the flurry and excitement of a supernormal experience details escape notice, and we are reduced to piecing together inferences from casual observations. A cool, calm survey of the phenomena of an apparition would provide matter for many inferences, but from the nature of a hallucination a too philosophical attitude would dispel the image.

In the recorded cases of simple hallucinations, containing no fact to be verified externally, nothing occurs in the narratives to hinder a subjective explanation showing them to be mere creations of the brain. The forms which they assume are familiar to the brain, and even when grotesque or only partially developed, are such that would be considered normal in dreams. The circumstances that tend to favour or produce them—heredity, overwork, ill-health, anxiety, grief, repose, expectancy, or suggestion, either singly or in combination, all indicate a subjective origin. That they are subjective cannot be positively asserted, but the evidence tends that way. Supposing their origin to be natural, what is the physiological process in a hallucination? The problem is to determine how the brain unconsciously and instantaneously projects an image so perfect and vivid as to deceive the senses into the conviction that it is external. Dream images suffice to establish the existence of some mechanism in the brain by which images appear to the mind to be external and real. In sleep the organs of sense are closed to external stimulus, and judgment and will are suspended, yet the representations are sights and sounds, and the images so vivid in form and action as to induce a conviction of their reality. It is no reckless assumption to suppose that the faculty, whatever it may be, that forms the images unconsciously and instantaneously in dreams, should sometimes be set in motion unconsciously and instantaneously in waking moments, where the results would be modified by the activity of judgment and consciousness.

Where is the image produced : at the sense organ, or in the recesses of the brain ? In ordinary vision the reflection of an object passes through the lenses of the eye and an image is impressed on the retina, which retains it for a brief interval and transmits it along the nerve to the sensorium of the brain, where it is dealt with by the central authority. A vivid impression remains on the organ of sense as an "after image," subsequent to the despatch to the brain. If you look at a strong light and close the eyes a more or less defined image will be present and gradually fade away. Certain physiologists maintain that the image in hallucinations is formed on the sense organ by the brain, as it were, reversing the engine, and sending the concept from the sensorium along the nerve backwards to the sense organ, and resuscitating the image there. In support of this they allege the vividness of the image fully externalised and equally indistinguishable from ordinary sense impressions, and also the supposed similarity to after images. Against this theory the bulk of physiologists and psychologists assert that the image is manipulated in the workshop of the brain from the storehouse of memory, and there remains on view without leaving the shop. Their arguments are mainly negative, based on the difficulties of any other theory. Doctors disagree ; they have not established an admitted theory on the formation of dream images, and hallucinations introduce additional complications. We are not called upon to arbitrate, and can only indicate the direction of the examination into the origin of hallucinations.

Should a natural explanation of these supernormal experiences be discovered, admitted, and established, it would not interfere with or exclude the operation of the supernatural. In allowing the apparition of a saint, Almighty God may present an entirely external figure of any consistency or form, or He may impress the image on the retina, or produce it in the brain, or pass beyond the limits of the material to the soul and permit spirit to recognise spirit without intervention of sense. Granting supernatural interposition, the method becomes of secondary importance. The supernatural would be ascertained by the nature and motive of the experience. It is remarkable how little motive for the appearance is discernible in all the instances of simple hallucinations recorded in the census. The

cases cited above are selected to illustrate different points touched upon, but they are fairly typical of the general character, and testify to the absence of an adequate motive. They are trivial, objectless, often irrelevant, and resemble dreams in being the baseless fabric of a vision.

The present article has been confined to simple hallucinations which comprise four-fifths of the 1684 census cases. In the remaining fifth a connection with a person or incident external to the percipient cannot be explained solely by the subjective state of his mind. When the time of an apparition exactly corresponds with the unknown death of a friend, when information is conveyed that the percipient had not otherwise obtained, when two or more persons share the same experience, it is evident that something more is implied than the formation of an image in the brain. This class of experiences has a higher interest and importance, and shall be considered in a subsequent article.

T. B. SNOW, *Abbot*.

ART. II.—THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE CATHOLIC EPISCOPATE IN RUSSIAN POLAND, TOGETHER WITH A SHORT SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF MONSIGNOR CHARLES HRYNIEWICKI, BISHOP OF VILNA.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Convention made by the late Emperor Alexander III. with Pope Leo XIII. in 1882, which, nominally, was to secure the liberty of the Catholic Church in Poland, the decrees passed during the previous persecution remain in full force. At this moment, as before, the jurisdiction of the Bishops is hindered by the continual interference of the Government in ecclesiastical matters. It is a fact that the Bishop cannot move any priest in his diocese from one parish to another without the permission and the knowledge of the Russian Government. In the same way, the direction of the seminaries depends in a great measure on the political authorities. The secular clergy are so hampered, besides, by exceptional laws and regulations that they cannot move a step out of their own parishes without obtaining a written permission from the Prefect of the district, the omission of which is punished by fines and imprisonment. The local police, besides, act as spies on all they say and do in their churches, report on their sermons, and watch keenly whether any confraternities are established, especially of the Sacred Heart, or if any processions have been allowed. So that the poor parish priests are really at their mercy. But nowhere has this state of things been felt more bitterly than in the Diocese of Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. After the banishment to Viatka (in 1863) of Mgr. Krasinski, this diocese remained for twenty years without its chief pastor. The Diocesan Seminary was nearly empty; the greater part of the parishes were without priests, and the ecclesiastical revenues were diverted to the worst of purposes. In 1883, however, a holy and excellent Bishop was appointed, Mgr. Charles Hryniewicki, who was born at Pulsy in Lithuania, and whose family belonged to the ancient Polish nobility. He

began his studies at the Gymnasium of Bialyskock, then continued them at the Minsk Seminary, and finally at the Academy at St. Petersburg, where he passed the highest examinations and was promoted to the First-Class in scientific subjects at the end of the very first year of his academical course. His great piety, however, was as remarkable as his literary attainments, and he was ordained priest in 1867. His first ecclesiastical appointment was to the Professorship of the College at Oriza in the Province of Mohilev; but in 1869 he was sent, in the same capacity, to the Academy at St. Petersburg, where he remained twelve years. He was also the founder of the Seminary of Mohilev at St. Petersburg, of which he was the first Rector, having been previously made Inspector of the Academy. Soon after, he was created a Canon and Prelate of Mohilev, and in 1883, Bishop of Vilna.

This was, as we may readily imagine, no easy post; but he was young and full of zeal and of the love of souls. His first duty was to try and purify his diocese from the elements which had produced such scandals. On taking possession of his cathedral, he spoke in the following terms:

I will try and root out all abuses and strive to restore order and peace. In this work, I feel I shall have the help and co-operation of all who love our Lord. Let those who resist me know, that it is by the authority of Leo XIII. and by that of the Czar, Alexander III. that I act; and that if they declare war against me, they equally do so against the Pope and the Emperor.

The holy Bishop fancied that by abstaining from every political movement and by remaining a faithful subject of the Czar, he would be free to carry out the reforms which were required in his diocese, and that no one would hinder him from acting according to the laws of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Ledochowski and Archbishop Felinski had similar illusions, till the prison of Ostrow for the first and exile for the other, opened the eyes of both to the dangers of their position.

At first, however, Mgr. Hryniewicki succeeded marvelously in his herculean task. The Governor-General, Todleben, was a good and moderate man and made no objection whatever to the dismissal of scandalous priests. Before the nomination of the new Bishop, Abbé Zylinski had started for Rome, owned his misconduct, did penance for it, and returned

to Vilna, reconciled to the Church. He resumed his duties as parish priest of Ostra-Brama, and the only thing that was exacted from him was, to restore a portion of his large revenues to help in the support of the seminary. But the other offenders felt the strong hand of their new pastor. The Dean of Grodno and the Canon of Vilna (the Abbé Kopeinhowicz) were deprived of their respective offices and excommunicated.

Several other changes were made, and every day the Bishop became more and more beloved by his flock, who realised what it was to have to deal with one who cared for nought but the glory of God and the salvation of souls. But then, unfortunately, there came a change of Governors-General. Todleben went away and was succeeded by General Kochanov, a bitter enemy of the Poles and a violent schismatic. He at once forbid the Bishop to put fresh priests in the place of those who had been excommunicated, and he tried to insist that the Russian language should be used in the Catholic Liturgy. When the Bishop refused, he was told that he had better ask for his passport and leave the country. The Bishop replied: "I did not appoint myself to this arduous charge, nor have I the right to give it up voluntarily and leave my flock as sheep without a shepherd. I am ready to go to Siberia if you exile me; but I will never desert my post." The new Governor finding him so determined, soon found another cause of offence.

In the new Calendar or "Ordo" for 1885, the Bishop had suppressed the names of the two excommunicated priests Kopeinhowicz and Matigsrewicz, who had been deprived of their ecclesiastical posts, although they still received a pension from the Russian Government. This omission displeased the Vilna censor, who insisted on their names being replaced in the "Ordo," and had one reprinted accordingly and sent to the Bishop. Mgr. Hryniewicki, thus circumvented, wrote with his own hand under the names of these two men: "*Excommunicatus Ecclesia. Carolus Episcopus:*" and the "Ordo," thus annotated, was sent to all the clergy. The Governor, furious at what he considered rebellion against his authority, wrote to St. Petersburg and said that it was impossible for him to remain Governor of Vilna with such a man as the

Bishop. To try and arrange matters, Prince Kantakuzen Spéransky, the director of the Chancery of Foreign Religions, was sent to Vilna, and he again advised the Bishop to resign, nominally on the plea of his health.

But the Bishop replied that he was perfectly well and had no intention of leaving the country. The Prince returned to St. Petersburg, and a few days later Mgr. Hryniewicki received a summons to come to the capital to give some further information as to his diocese. The Bishop knew at once the meaning of this journey. He felt convinced that he would not be allowed to return to his flock for a long time, if ever, and he prepared himself for exile.

When the news of his approaching departure reached the people, the deepest sorrow and distress was shown by everyone. All the principal inhabitants of the town hastened to the railway station to see their beloved pastor, perhaps for the last time, and to receive his episcopal blessing. It was on February 3, 1885, that he passed through the streets in his carriage for the last time, blessing his people as he passed, who were ranged on both sides of the road to see him. When he got into the railway carriage, seeing the great crowd round him, he spoke the following words:

Listen, my children, to what I am going to say to you. Do not cry or shout—but listen, for the time is short. I bless you and your families and all you love with my whole heart. Live in charity and union with one another; pray earnestly for grace and strength; fulfil the duties of our holy faith; bear patiently the persecution of our enemies. God has commanded us to love our neighbour as ourselves, and are not our enemies likewise our neighbours? Love God above all and your holy religion and your country. Obey the Emperor, for he is set over you by God, and you must render to him what is his due as you render unto God what is His. Remember me also in your prayers. I grieve to leave you, for though I have done all I could, there is still much that is wanting and which I hoped to accomplish in the next few years. Do not cry perhaps I may come back to you, though I do not think so. . . . [Here the cries of the people stifled the Bishop's voice.] Do not cry, I repeat, my children, it is God's will, and to that we must all submit. Listen once more. There are some people who say I am a rebel; if they can say so of one who has had no thought but that of defending the Church and our holy Catholic Faith Well, if that be "rebellion," I shall remain a rebel to the hour of my death! I have always faithfully obeyed God and the Emperor and shall

do so to the grave. It is enough, my children. Farewell ! and may we meet again in heaven if not on earth !

No sooner had he arrived in St. Petersburg than he begged to see the Czar, but he was absent. Then he tried to see the Minister, Tolstoy, but he was ill. For a time there was a question of sending him as Bishop to the Diocese of Ptock, as the see was vacant owing to the death of Mgr. Borowski. But the enemies of the holy Bishop prevailed, and very soon he received the following decree of exile :

His Majesty the Emperor, at my humble request, has relieved you from the government of the Diocese of Vilna, and has destined you to reside in the Town of Jaroslav. I have the honour to announce to you this the will of his Majesty and to desire its instant accomplishment.

(Signed) TOLSTOY and KANTAKUZEN SPÉRANSKY.

On February 10, accordingly, the Bishop left St. Petersburg and arrived at Jaroslav on the Volga, accompanied by a policeman. The news flew like wildfire through the Diocese of Vilna, and the grief and despair of the people is well expressed in the following letter :

A heavy sorrow and loss has fallen upon us, for once more we are orphaned and desolate. We had such an excellent and venerable pastor, who never spared himself day or night for the welfare of his flock ; who plucked out the weeds and sowed the good grain in his fields ; who was the father and friend of us all. But human malice, aided and inspired by the Devil, has torn away our treasure from us, and God knows whether we shall ever see him again ! Oh, in what sad and terrible times we are living ! All the enemies of God are rejoicing in their victory, and the fanaticism of the schismatics increase day by day. Our town is like a besieged city, and on all sides one hears nothing but sadness and sorrow.

Before leaving Vilna, Mgr. Hryniewicki had entrusted the administration of his diocese to his Vicar-General, Mgr. Harasimowicz, until the Apostolic See had chosen a successor to himself ; and at the first meeting of the Chapter, the Abbé Zylinski was the most anxious to declare that the priest chosen by the Bishop was the only canonical director of the diocese. But the Government was not at all disposed to admit the claims of a man who would follow in the steps of the deposed pastor, and M. Harasimowicz was sent off to the

little town of Welsk in the Government of Wotohda. Before leaving he named the Abbé Constant Majewski as his successor in the administration of the diocese, he having been Rector of the Seminary at Vilna. But again the Governor interfered with this nomination and speedily exiled the Abbé Majewski to Wotohda. This sentence was executed with such rapidity that he had not the time to name a successor, and so the diocese remained without an administrator, save the General Chapter. This sad state of things has given a death-blow to the ecclesiastical life of the diocese, which had only just begun to recover from the evils which had subsisted unchecked for twenty years. The number of priests has been reduced to twenty-three. Out of 295 parishes seventy-five have disappeared and the Catholic population has equally diminished.

But we must return to the exiled Bishop. He remained for five years at Jaroslav, enduring every species of petty vexation at the hands of the Government, especially during the first two years, which he bore with his accustomed patience and resignation. At last a new Bishop was appointed to Vilna, and as there was therefore no possible excuse for his detention at Jaroslav, he was given leave to depart. But owing to the ill-will of the Government, his liberation was delayed for several months. The new Bishop had been consecrated on December 30, 1889, but it was not till the following May that the Head of the Police communicated this new decree to his prisoner :

His Majesty the Emperor has deigned to permit the late Bishop of Vilna to leave the country, without any question of returning, and considers it to be indispensable that he should take the following route:—Moscow, Toula, Orel, Koursk, Kieff, Voloczysk; and that without any stopping or interruption. A subsidy of 1500 roubles is allotted to the Bishop out of the ecclesiastical funds, but which will be only paid at the end of the year and at the demand of the Bishop, if it be proved that the said Bishop has done nothing contrary to the wish of the Government during that period.

The Head of the Police exacted a written declaration from the Bishop that he would accept these conditions, which Mgr. Hryniewicki, with his usual calm dignity, accepted, writing :

I will leave on the 15th, and take the route which has been indicated.

BISHOP HRYNIEWICKI.

The following account of his journey is taken from the *Przeglad*, or *Lemberg Review*, No. 144, June 25, 1890:

When the day of departure arrived and the Bishop got into the carriage, he found that he was to be accompanied by the Head of the Police of Jaroslav in full uniform. On Friday, May 16, the train reached Moscow, and he was instantly met by a large body of police, who rudely demanded his luggage, and insisted on his instant departure for the Koursk Station. A carriage had been prepared, into which they roughly pushed the Bishop, who exclaimed, "What do you mean by treating me as a malefactor? Do you wish to assassinate me? You have not the slightest right to act as you are doing, for I have signed a declaration that I will in all things conform to the wishes of the Emperor. I am ill, and want a short rest; do not, therefore, hurry me in this manner!"

To this remonstrance only fresh brutality was added, to the great indignation of the public, who were witnesses of the whole scene. The Bishop, to avoid any further insults, accordingly got into the carriage, telling the police that he could not pay for it, as the Government did not give him the means to do so. He asked to stop at a shop to buy a hat as his own had been spoiled in the journey, but this was positively refused. As soon as he arrived at the Koursk Station he was forced to enter the carriage, which had been prepared for him a long time before the train started. Two secret police agents accompanied him, watching every movement and listening to every word he said. Other members of the police force remained at the door of the railway carriage, of which the windows were closely veiled. A quantity of writing paper and telegram forms had been prepared to induce the Bishop to write, but he declined to do so. As soon as he had entered the carriage the door was locked on the outside, so that he was virtually a prisoner. He had wished to go second-class on account of the expense, but that was also refused; and every effort was made to separate him from his chaplain and his servant, but the Bishop declared that he would not travel alone, and finally took three first-class tickets. The police agents then got into the next carriage. At each station they urged him to get out and eat; but he refused, and touched only what he had brought from Jaroslav, while his servant prepared him some tea. On nearing Kieff a strange thing happened. The Bishop had fallen into an uneasy slumber, when he was suddenly awakened by a violent rush of air from underneath his seat. He sprang up, calling for help, and found that under his chair a trap had opened, which caused this strong wind—a fact which in all probability saved his life. The guard of the train was summoned, and seemed very much astonished. The spies also came in, and were evidently greatly confused and embarrassed. But the Bishop insisted on being moved into another carriage, and so arrived safely at Kieff. There again they had to change trains, and the same pressure was used to force the Bishop at once into the compartment prepared for

him. But he insisted on walking a little, as the train was not to start for another hour. On the platform the Bishop met with an old friend, with whom he entered into conversation, greatly to the wrath of his guards. On his resuming his place in the railway carriage a poor woman and her children insisted on entering it to obtain his blessing, which the spies tried in vain to prevent. It was on May 17 that the holy Bishop left Kieff and arrived at the frontier station of Voloczysk, where the Russian police disappeared like a bad dream, and the poor persecuted prelate could at last breathe freely; and, having taken leave of his chaplain, was received with affectionate veneration by his co-religionists in Galicia, who hastened to offer him the most cordial hospitality.

We leave this authentic report of the Bishop's journey without comment. In the year 1891 he went to Rome, where he was created Archbishop of Perge; and until better times arise, he is now acting as simple parish priest on the property of a friend in Galicia.

His successor at Vilna, Mgr. Awdziwicz, finds himself in an almost equally difficult position. One of the most important works of a Bishop is the visitation of his diocese and the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation; but the Russian Government does all in its power to hinder these episcopal functions, and in some cases, as with Mgr. Koztowski in the Diocese of Lublin, it forbids them altogether. In the Warsaw Diocese the priests who came to hear the confessions of their people in the town, where the Archbishop was confirming, have been condemned to a heavy fine, because they had gone out of the limits of their respective parishes without asking the permission of the Head of the Police. In August 1893, Mgr. Awdziwicz undertook the canonical visitation of fifteen churches in the Diaconate of Lida Radunsk, where, and for thirty-two years, there had been no episcopal visitation. He had the greatest difficulty in obtaining this permission, and finally did so on the following conditions:

1. That he should obtain the express permission of Orziweski, the Governor-General of Vilna.
2. That he should not have with him or convoke more than six priests.
3. Severe prohibition to the parishioners to receive the Bishop on his visitation with any triumphal or solemn demonstrations.

4. The Prefect of the district and the local police to follow the Bishop in his pastoral visitation, to accompany him into the church and to remain there, especially at the time of the administration of the Sacraments and of the Confirmation, lest any of the orthodox (that is, the Uniats, forced by violence into schism) should share in a Catholic function. Even at dinner, the Prefect or his representative was to be present to watch the proceedings of the Bishop and his clergy.

By a recent decree, it has been forbidden to the parochial clergy to invite more than two priests to assist at any function in their churches, and these must have a special permission, in writing, from the Prefect of the district. The local police are equally obliged to watch over the performance of these functions in the church itself.

In 1886 another Imperial Decree prohibited the Bishops from building any oratory or chapel, even in the most urgent cases, without a special permission from the Government. In June of that year, a decree suppressed altogether two parochial churches of Sledziany and Granow, in the Diocese of Lublin, because they had allowed the Uniats to participate in the sacraments and functions of these churches. But the hardest decree for the poor Catholics was issued in 1891, by the Governor of Siedlce, severely prohibiting the repairs or restoration or enlargement of any Catholic church, without the permission of the Government, although the money might have been offered by individuals or by the subscriptions of the faithful. In consequence, many of the churches have fallen into ruins and have had to be closed.

In April 1893 an Imperial Decree suppressed the Seminary of Siedlce for four years, the Rector, Vice-Rector, and five priests, who were professors of this seminary, having been incarcerated in the Citadel of Warsaw. The first two and Professor Prawola are still in prison; the other four, after paying 1000 roubles, were released. Of the sixty students, thirteen were precluded from entering any seminary in the empire. What was their crime? None was alleged, save "a spirit of Polish hostility to the Government;" though no proof whatever of this was given and there had not been the smallest political movement among either students or professors.

A last decree of January 1894 imposes the law that all the

correspondence of the Catholic clergy with their respective Bishops shall be carried on in the Russian language.

We think we have said enough of the grave difficulties of the episcopate in this country. So much has been written about the desire for union with the Holy See, that people are apt to imagine that such an event may speedily be accomplished. The known spirit of toleration of the new Czar, the permission (for the first time) to allow the circulation in Russia of the Papal Encyclicals, the appointment of a permanent minister to the Holy See, and the leave granted to the Bishops to visit Rome, have given Europe the idea that the era of persecution is a thing of the past. But they forget two things: the absolute power possessed by the Governor and other authorities in each province to carry out any measures they may see fit, and the impossibility of the truth being known to the Czar, both from the size of the country and the character of those around him. Every Russian is firmly convinced that the Poles are continually conspiring against the Government and look with suspicion upon their every word and deed. They are equally convinced that, as a nation, they are more tolerant than any other people on the face of the earth, and that it is only zeal for the "orthodox" church which induces some of their number to resort to measures hostile to Catholicity. Until these two misconceptions are removed we despair of any real change in the administration of Russian Poland. Added to these reasons, is the known hostility of the Holy Synod to the Catholic faith, and their determination, if possible, to eliminate any symptom of adhesion to it among the inhabitants of their conquered provinces.

Yet, in spite of persecution of every kind—fines, imprisonment, exile and even death—the Ruthenians, Lithuanians and Uniats cling to their religious convictions, and, year by year, swell the lists of Martyrs for the Faith. How earnestly then should we all follow the desire of the Holy Father in his late Encyclical and pray for that union which can alone bring peace to the Christian world and stop the systematic persecution of the Catholic Church in Russian Poland, which, though often ignored in other European countries, is a grave and undoubted reality.

MARY ELIZABETH HERBERT.

ART. III.—THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE: THE TWO STAGES OF THEIR INTER- RELATION.

THE two previous papers of this series* first discriminated between the Bible *quâ* human document, and, as such, one of the several proofs for the Church's authority, and the Bible *quâ* Divine Library, re-given to us as such by that authority. They next maintained that, in the first, pre-Catholic Faith stage, Reason is necessarily in its element, and that, in the second, the Catholic Faith stage, Reason is not contradicted but transcended. And they finally attempted an exposition of such conclusions of the Critico-historical Reason as, in the first stage, would seem to impose themselves on our acceptance, and of how these conclusions leave still intact, indeed sometimes strengthen the evidence for those few great facts on which the Church, as far as the Bible goes, is built. I will now attempt in this concluding paper—here more than ever in the hands of the Church—once more to insist upon the several functions of Faith and Reason, the Church and Science in these two stages; to illustrate the temper of mind in which the second stage should be approached; and, finally, to indicate such conclusions of the Church as here impose themselves on our acceptance, and how such conclusions are compatible with, indeed but light up and harmonise, the previously ascertained phenomena of the Bible with each other, and their totality with the life of the soul and of the Church.

I.

1. If there is a specifically Catholic fundamental conception, it is that of the two divinely instituted, humanly necessary, immortal orders of Nature and Grace, Reason and Faith, neither identical nor antagonistic, but distinct and supplementary. Indeed, what is all that long conflict on the right hand and on

* DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct. 1894, pp. 313-341; April 1895, pp. 306-337. In the second paper, read, p. 311, line 13, "and Charlemagne's death (817 A.D.);" and p. 330, line 16, "as being the children of Rachel, Benjamin's mother, who lay buried by Bethlehem."

the left, first with Pelagianism and Manichæism, later on with Laxism and Jansenism, last with Rationalism and Fideism, but an historical confirmation, throughout her secular history, of this the Church's inalienable attitude ?

St. Thomas tells us that

"Grace does not abolish nature, but perfects it"; and that "although the truth of the Christian Faith exceeds the capacity of human reason, yet those principles which the reason possesses by nature cannot contradict this truth. For these principles are most certain and true, so that neither is it possible to hold them to be false, nor to deny that which is held by Faith, since it is so evidently confirmed by God."*

Hence, on the one hand, St. Thomas can rightly say : "He who strives to prove by natural reason the Trinity of Persons, dishonours Faith."† And, on the other hand, Dr. Hettinger can declare :

Although, with regard to the truths of Revelation, the finite, human Reason is not the positive (*principium secundum quod*), still less the productive principle (*principium quo*) of truth, yet the Reason is a negative principle, since nothing can be true which contradicts its laws.‡

Dr. Martineau remarks most correctly :

In reasoning with the Catholic, we have always this advantage, that he admits a natural reason, a natural conscience, a natural religion ; nay, that the light which we have through them is a grace of the same Holy Spirit which makes his Church the depository of higher but homogeneous gifts.§

2. And it is important to remember that Revelation does not simply propose to us principles, a philosophy, transcending our natural discovery or comprehension, but also persons and facts, a history. And hence, as that transcendent philosophy presupposes the absolute certainty of the first principles of the human reason on which the previous, intra-rational philosophy is built, so also this transcendent history presupposes the human credibility, attainable by ordinary historical proofs and methods, of those fundamental facts and events with which the Reason begins and which Faith appropriates and transcends. Neither in the case of the philosophy, nor in that of the history,

* "C. Gent.," i. 7.

† "Summa Theol.," i. qu. 32, a. 1.

‡ "Fundamental-Theologie," 1879, i. pp. 144, 145.

§ "Seat of Authority," 1890, p. 131.

can faith be based on scepticism; however great the share of grace on the one hand, and of the pure heart on the other, a spring-board is wanted from and beyond which the divinely enlightened and attracted will may plunge into the divine certainties of supernatural faith.

Hence, just as M. Bonnetty had to subscribe the philosophical thesis: "Reasoning can prove with certainty the existence of God, the spirituality of the soul, the free will of man," so also Abbé Bautain had to subscribe the historical theses:

"We have no right to require an unbeliever to admit the Resurrection of Our Lord, before that certain proofs have been administered to him; and these proofs are deduced from (written and oral) tradition by reasoning," and: "Reason can prove with certainty the authenticity of the Revelation vouchsafed to the Jews through Moses and to Christians through Jesus Christ."*

3. Now the jurisdiction of the faith and of the Church will, in both the philosophical and historical questions, be, in the first stage, as generally indirect and predominantly disciplinary, as in the second stage it will be direct and doctrinal as well as disciplinary.

In the first stage, this jurisdiction watches, in the case of both sets of questions, against the introduction of the three kinds of Rationalism and the corresponding kinds of Fideism, which alone, but frequently, appear here. I will divide these intruders into prior, concomitant and posterior, and will consider them only in their application to critico-historical questions.

(1) (a) The historical investigation often starts with prior Rationalism, antitheistic assumptions.

Hence, the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* condemns those who deny the possibility of prophecy or miracle.†

We want, then, right assumptions and presumptions, since do without them of some kind we cannot; such noble historians as J. G. Droysen, Ranke, Rudolf Kittel, give us such presumptions substantially the same as those required by the Church.

(b) Or, sometimes the investigation starts with prior Fideism, Catholic assumptions.

* Denzinger's "Encheiridion," ed. 1888, Nos. 1506, 1491, 1493.

† *Tablet*, Jan. 6, 1894, p. 7.

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Hence, Abbé Bautain had to sign the thesis that "(supernatural) Faith, a divine gift, is subsequent to Revelation," and that "the use of Reason precedes Faith and leads man to it by means of Revelation and of grace."* And the Encyclical tells us: "The first thing to be done is to vindicate the trustworthiness of the sacred records, at least as human documents."† Professor Robertson Smith, then, says quite correctly: "All sound apologetic admits that the proof that a book is credible must precede belief that it is inspired."‡

(2) (a) The investigation often proceeds with a concomitant Rationalism, accepting the too hurried and too subjective conclusions of individual scholars as though they were the calm and final word of science.

Hence the Encyclical says: "This vaunted 'Higher Criticism' will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics."§ The distinguished American New Testament scholar, Dr. Thayer, says, then, very truly:

Anybody who has watched the changing fashions of criticism can call to mind one person and another who caught up with avidity the view that happened to be in vogue among the so-called "advanced" critics and still clings to it. In critical theories the rhymester's advice is as good as respecting fashions in clothes—"Be not the first by whom the new are tried, Nor yet the last to lay the old aside."||

(b) Or, sometimes, the investigation is unduly checked by a concomitant Fideism, by theologians refusing assent to the well-established conclusions of scholarship on points well within its competence.

Such was the case in the long refusal of the Protestants of the seventeenth century to admit the late introduction of the Hebrew vowel-points.

"Nowadays every one knows," writes Professor Sanday, "that the Hebrew of the Old Testament was written purely in consonants without vowels; these were added in the sixth or seventh centuries A.D. This was first made out by the French Calvinist Louis Cappellus in 1624. But the set of opinion throughout the Reformed Churches was so strong that a later work by Cappellus could only be published (in 1650) by the help of his son, who had joined the Church of Rome. Indeed, in one of the

* Denzinger, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 1488, 1493.

† *Tablet*, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

‡ "Old Testament in Jewish Church," ed. 1892, p. 312.

§ *Tablet*, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

|| *Critical Review*, v. iii. p. 207.

Swiss formularies (1675) it is expressly laid down that not only the Hebrew consonants but also the vowel-points were divinely inspired."*

(3) (a) The investigation often concludes with posterior Rationalism, anti-Catholic conclusions, and this by denying any ulterior source or range of truth other than its own.

Hence the Encyclical bids

"the Catholic student bear well in mind, as the Fathers teach in numerous passages, that the (divine, dogmatico-moral) sense of Holy Scripture can nowhere be found incorrupt outside of the Church, and cannot be found in writers who, being without the true faith, only gnaw the bark of the Sacred Scripture, and never attain its pith." "False philosophy and rationalism must lead to the elimination from the Sacred writings of all that is outside the natural order."†

The Bollandist Père de Smedt tells us :

A supernatural fact, taken historically, is composed of two elements. It is first of all a fact, and next a fact possessing a supernatural character. For establishing the fact, we have no other critical rules than those which guide us in the research of natural facts; for establishing its supernatural character, we have to content ourselves with the purely negative demonstration that none of the (natural) explanations proposed can satisfy a candid mind, that all are contrary to the assured laws of the metaphysical, physical or moral order.‡

(b) Or, the posterior Rationalism may be positive, attempting to prove, by internal evidence alone, the Church-attested Inspiration and dogmatic meaning of the Bible. So all Protestant bodies, more or less.

To sum up. The Church's jurisdiction, throughout this first stage, would seem to be, ordinarily,§ indirect and disciplinary. She sees to it that the investigation starts with neither less nor more than Theistic assumptions; that, in proceeding, it neither prematurely accepts but partial, short-lived opinions nor rejects the unanimous, lasting conclusions of scholars as to the historico-literary phenomena; and that it

* "Oracles of God," 1891, pp. 20, 21.

† *Tablet*, loc. cit., pp. 9, 10.

‡ "Des Devoirs des Écrivains Catholiques," p. 12.

§ With Abbé Loisy I would say: "Questions of origin and composition remain, even for the Bible, questions of literary history, depending directly upon historical testimony and critical examination. The Church has never yet defined the authorship, method of composition, or textual condition of any Biblical book. But she most certainly could do so, since these facts are directly related to the object of Revelation, although not included in it."—*"Études Bibliques,"* reprint 1894, pp. 50, 51.

does not conclude with denying the subsequent supernatural verities concerning the Bible, nor with attempting to itself establish these as within its own competence. Hence, where scholarship starts from, and everywhere applies Theistic assumptions, and does not deny the possibility of a subsequent supernatural teacher of subsequent supernatural truths about and from the Bible, but restricts itself to the middle region of forwarding research into the historico-literary phenomena of Scripture, there it is in possession. Where it has thus arrived at unanimity, faith joins with common sense in accepting its conclusions.

4. In the second, Catholic-Faith stage, Faith not Reason, Doctrine not Science, are in possession: the Church's jurisdiction is here always direct, and doctrinal as well as disciplinary. Here, in virtue of her now admitted divine authority, she proposes to us certain facts and doctrines concerning the supernatural meaning and character of the Bible, of an admittedly transcendental character. Here the reality and true *raison d'être* of the mere phenomena of the Bible are reached at last, and reached with the divine certainty of Faith.

(1) She proposes to us the Canon of Scripture, and that as based on her own authority, and rejects all attempts at including or excluding books or parts of books, according to direct internal evidence of their supposed fitness or unfitness, as unreasonable and Rationalistic.

The Councils of Trent and of the Vatican repeat the Canon of the Third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), and of the Decrees of Popes St. Damasus (about 374) and Innocent I. (405) and define: "If any one shall not receive these books in their entirety with all their parts, as sacred and canonical, let him be anathema."

(2). She next proposes to us these particular books as all divinely inspired throughout, and this again, on her own authority, and as beyond all direct conclusive proof.

"The Church holds these books," defines the Vatican Council, "to be sacred and canonical, because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their Author, and have been handed over to the Church as such."* "The system of those who con-

* Denzinger, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 666, 1637.

cede that Inspiration regards only the things of Faith and Morals cannot be tolerated," says the Encyclical.*

Her authority does not constitute their Inspiration, but is our only conclusive proof for its reality, nature and extent.

(3) She finally proposes to us the Revelation contained in the Bible, and that as inerrant and transcendent.

"The books of the Old and New Testaments," defines the Vatican Council, "contain Revelation without error;" and (renewing the decree of Trent) "in matters of Faith and Morals, pertaining unto the edification of the Christian Faith, that sense of Scripture is to be held to be the true one which the Church has held and holds, whose prerogative it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of Scripture."†

Here again, of the whereabouts, the nature and the meaning of Biblical Revelation, the Church is alone the appointed, fully competent and conclusive witness and teacher.

II.

I will next consider successive and contrasted stages of knowledge and belief in various subject-matters, as apparently instructive illustrations of the temper of mind specially adapted to our second stage.

1. Take the relations between Physics and Metaphysics.

That penetrating Catholic scientist, M. P. Duhem, contends that :

"The experimental method reposes upon principles which are self-evident and prior to all Metaphysic;" hence that "it belongs to Metaphysic to account for the self-evident foundations on which Physic rests, but this study adds nothing to their (physical) evidence and certainty;" again, that "unless you establish a real distinction between Physic and Metaphysic, you are bound to recognise the physical method even in Metaphysic, that is, to accept Positivism;" and, finally, that "the sane and prudent tradition of the Schools has never entirely disappeared: at all times these have been Physicists, the greatest through their discoveries, who have recognised that mathematical theories have for their object the co-ordination of the natural laws, and that the research into their causes constitutes another problem.‡

Apply this to the human and the divine side of Scripture, and we get Professor Robertson Smith telling us :

* *Tablet*, loc. cit., p. 10.

† Denzinger, loc. cit., Nos. 668, 1636, 1637.

‡ "Physique et Metaphysique," 1893, pp. 10, 12, 19, 30.

The whole business of scholarly exegesis lies with the human side of Scripture, with the mastering of the whole situation and character and feeling of each human interlocutor in the drama of Revelation. What is more than this lies beyond our wisdom. It is only the Spirit of God that can make the word a living word to our hearts, as it was a living word to him who first received it.*

A distinguished Catholic critic writes :

M. Renan did not see that the divine-human reality of religion had to manifest itself by means of phenomena, and that the purely scientific observation of these phenomena cannot determine the law that underlies them.†

This is solely the business of the Church.

2. Take the relations between Physiology, Psychology, and Metaphysic.

Strict Neo-scholastics, *e.g.*, Dr. A. Stoeckl, tell us that "empirical psychology is a fit, indeed necessary, preliminary to philosophy proper." And then as introductory to psychology itself, he gives some account of human anatomy and physiology.‡

Apply this to questions of date, composition, adaptation, development on the one hand, and those of Canonicity, Inspiration, Revelation, theological Interpretation on the other hand, and you will find it impossible to argue from the latter to the former, *e.g.*, that the Pentateuch cannot be a mosaic of four great documents, but must be all composed by Moses, because it is all inspired; as impossible as to prove, from the soul being the "form" of the body, that a particular number and kind of bones and ligaments is in the human hand or foot.

3. Take the difference between (culpable) Nature and Grace as propounded by faith.

Cardinal Newman tells us :

"There are two parties on this earth, two only, if we view men in their religious aspect: those few who hear Christ's words and follow Him, and those many for whom Christ prays not, though He died for them." But the world "considers that all men are pretty much on a level; that it is impossible to divide them into two bodies, or to divide them at all." They may indeed "be easily mistaken for each other, for the difference is largely inward and secret." §

* "Old Testament in Jewish Church," ed. 1892, p. 13.

† *Bulletin Critique*, 1895, p. 428.

‡ "Lehrbuch d. Philosophie," ed. 1881, pp. 21-37.

§ "Discourses," ed. 1871, pp. 147, 148, 152.

Apply this to the question of the difference between Biblical and other books ; in both cases we get the Church warranting a difference intrinsic but resting on transcendent grounds ; we can believe, we cannot directly and conclusively prove it.

4. Take our Lord's Humanity in relation to His Divinity. Cardinal Hergenroether tells us :

"The Apostle John combats in his Epistles false teachers who denied the reality of the Incarnation, quite in the manner of the later Gnostics; they attributed to our Lord but a seeming body, and hence were strict *Docetæ*." "One of the fundamental traits of Gnosticism is its absolute antinomy between spirit and matter. The latter is conceived either as unsubstantial, as chaos, or, more usually, as identical with evil; hence follows the negation of Christ's true humanity and corporality."*

Apply this to Scripture, and we must beware of any Scriptural Docetism, parallel to the Christological one. The Inlitteration of the Spirit is as real in the one case, as the Incarnation of the Son is in the other. Our Lord's body weighed a particular weight on His mother's arm ; the hands that blessed and healed, the eyes that wept and broke were, are, of a particular size and shape and colour. The Spirit's letter is composed of such and such documents of a definite age and length and literary complexion. In both cases the Faith tells us that Reason can thus observe and register, and bids Reason do so as far as possible.

5. Take the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in its relation to Faith and Reason :

"The divine Trinity is, for the human, indeed every created mind, in so far a mystery, as that the reality of the three persons in God cannot be proved by its natural powers. Indeed, even the intellectual apprehension of this mystery cannot be other than analogical, and therefore obscure and imperfect; more so, indeed, than the apprehension of God's nature and essence." "Yet this incomprehensibleness has at times been emphasised in such a manner as to make it almost appear as though God had revealed this mystery for the purpose of propounding a riddle to man, and not of enriching his mind with an exceedingly sublime and fruitful cognition."†

And Dr. Hettinger finds the contribution of reason to this human cognition in the correct positive and negative apprehension of the Church's definitions of the dogma; in the proofs of its antiquity from

* "Hanbuch d. Kirchengeschichte," ed. 1876, i. pp. 114, 119.

† "Dogmatik," 1873, i. Nos. 1078, 1086.

Scripture and Tradition; and in the attempt, by means of the analogies of the life of the human soul, to fathom this mystery as far as possible.*

Apply this to Scripture, and the Church's trinity of doctrine concerning it will also be neither directly demonstrable nor completely comprehensible, yet the same fourfold contribution of reason will here also be possible and desirable towards its ever-increasing apprehension as a doctrine intrinsically true and fruitful, harmonious and harmonising.

III.

We will now take the Church's three transcendent doctrines, in the order of the degree of their transcendence; hence, first, *Canonicity*.

(1) Now the sacred and canonical character of the Biblical books is but the exact application and delimitation of the character of divinity to certain definite books. And since human certainty as to the divinity of Scripture, its content and origin, is attainable by the natural reason,† it seems to follow that the divinity of single books is so likewise. Yet it will be safer to contend that the nucleus alone of the Old and New Testaments can be thus proved, with human certainty, to be divine; and that only after this or other reasons have occasioned the act of divine faith in the Church, does the mind get sufficient certainty either human or divine as to the divinity of some of the books which fringe the Old and New Testament Canons. By my human certainty as to the divine character of the Law and the Prophets in the Old Testament, and of the Gospels and the great Pauline Epistles in the New Testament, I get occasion for my act of faith in the Church; and the Church then gives me divine certainty, not only as to these books, but also as to such of the *Hagiographa* and of the Deutero-canonicals of the Old and New Testaments as yield me but an uncertain human assurance. The case appears analogous to the difference between natural and supernatural knowledge of the Unity and Attributes of God.

(2) *Canonicity and Inspiration.*

* "Apologie," ed. 1869, iii. p. 85.

† Cf. Schell's "Dogmatik," i., 1889, p. 122.

"Canonicity concerns in the first place not Inspiration," says Professor Schanz, "but apostolic authorship (or attestation) and all involved by it. Once its apostolic origin is certain a document will be inspired for him who believes in special apostolic graces. Even as to the Old Testament, the ground of early Christian belief in it was the authority of the Apostles, otherwise it would have been impossible for St. Paul to take up an oppositional attitude towards the Old Law."*

"For the consciousness of the Westerns," writes Dr. Harnack (*e.g.*, Irenæus, Tertullian, the Muratorian fragment), Apostolicity is undoubtedly the primary quality of the New Testament collection, and this involves Inspiration. At Alexandria the term Apostle is taken in a wider sense, and is made to include the seventy disciples (Luke x. 1.)†

Hence Canonicity, as equal to Apostolicity, in this wider sense, is not simply identical with Inspiration though it involves the latter; nor can we directly prove this Canonicity for all the Old and New Testament writings, *e.g.*, the Canticle of Canticles and the Second Epistle of St. Peter.

(3) Now the following positions are admitted with regard to the Old Testament Canon:

"As a question of principle," writes Abbé Loisy, "the origin of the Old Testament Canon coincides with the redaction and first promulgation of the Law. As a matter of fact the Law becomes fully, finally canonical by its official promulgation through Esdras (444 B.C.)." "The collection of the Prophets did not receive this promulgation, but recommended itself only by the value attaching to each of its parts before their final union by Nehemiah (432 B.C.)." "So also with the collection of the Hagiographa, which, because of its heterogeneity, was longer before acquiring a final form; the Bible of Judas Maccabæus (161 B.C.) probably contained it complete." "There exists but one Jewish Canon, the Palestinian, with a difference of appreciation and of practice as to the non-canonical religious books. Jerusalem, without being hostile to them, hesitates to admit them as divine, and excludes them from her sacred collection; Alexandria venerates them as sacred and inspired, and uses them much as she does the canonical books with which she confounds them in her Bible, though her official Canon remains the same as that of the metropolis. The Apostles and apostolic men will have formed for themselves a Greek Bible by taking, in the contemporary Alexandrian collections, such books as they regarded as inspired, *i.e.*, the books of the Hebrew Canon and also the Deutero-canonicals which we see that they used. It is this Apostolic Bible which they bequeathed to the Church, and the Church instructs us of its true extent."‡

* "Theol. Quartalschrift," 1895, pp. 201, 196.

† "Dogmengeschichte," I., ed. 1898, pp. 318, 322.

‡ "Canon de l'A. T.," pp. 53, 54, 65, 69, 70.

(4) The Canonicity of a book is distinct from its traditional authorship. (a) The conciliar definitions of Canonicity bear directly only on the divine and authoritative character of the book. Indeed, as the fullest belief in the Church's *magisterium* as to dogmatic facts, as to her having and exercising the power of inerrantly defining, not only that particular propositions are of faith or heretical, but that a particular book or part of a book contains them, in no wise involves belief in any inerrancy in designating the actual author of the document in question: so neither does the fullest belief in the actual exercise of her infallible *magisterium* in defining a particular book to be canonical, necessarily involve the exercise of her power to define the human authorship.

Bishop Hefele tells us: "The Fifth General Council no doubt anathematized Origen." Yet the very strict Dr. Scheeben tells us: "Interior assent to such a judgment is required only in so far as there is no reasonable ground for assuming that the censured expressions do not really proceed from the person named. Reasonable grounds for this may be producible where, as here, judgment is passed on very ancient writings, especially where no examination of the authorship has preceded the decision as to the theological character of the writings."* So, again, Fénelon could, with complete submission to the Brief of 1699, explain to the Pope in 1712, that one of the censured propositions was indeed "erroneous," and had appeared in his book, but was not his.†

"As to Biblical authorship," writes Abbé Loisy, "the Church no doubt could emit an infallible decision in the matter, yet up to now she has never defined the authorship or method of composition, but only the Inspiration and Canonicity of the Biblical books."‡

The Councils and Popes, in their canonical lists, have but followed the current, sometimes unscientific, attributions. Thus the Synods of Hippo and III. Carthage (393, 397, A.D.) and Pope Innocent I. (417) put down "the five books of Solomon," meaning by this, says Dr. Kaulen, "Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus."§ Now these authorities can hardly have even thought that Solomon (about 933) was the author of Ecclesiasticus (written about 185 B.C.). As to Wisdom, "its origin should be referred approximately

* "Conciliengeschichte," v. ii., ed. 1875, pp. 861, 898; "Dogmatik," i. p. 259.

† "Œuvres," ed. 1822, v. ix. p. 618. ‡ "Études Bibliques," pp. 50, 51.

§ Denzinger, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 49, 59; "Einleitung," p. 289.

to the time of Ptolemy Philopator" (about 222-204 B.C.).* As to Ecclesiastes, Bishop Haneberg, Dr. Kaulen, Cardinal Newman, Abbé Loisy allow or incline to a post-exilic date; Dr. Bickell explicitly maintains it.†

(b) The Fathers, again, are primary authorities as to Faith and Morals; all are truthful transmitters of traditional opinions; some few, above all Origen and St. Jerome, are also scholars capable of testing historical evidence; but the majority are more trustworthy as to the fact of the Canonicity of the single books, than as to their precise authorship. Wisdom was usually attributed to Solomon up to St. Jerome's time; the legend of Esdras re-dictating all the Books of the Hebrew Canon was fully believed by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria; and that of the seventy Greek translators of the Old Testament having each translated independently and yet identically is believed, among others, by St. Irenæus.‡

(c) Jewish tradition, again, requires careful sifting. Philo (15 B.C.) and Josephus (about 115 A.D.) specially insist upon Moses having himself written even the last chapter of Deuteronomy descriptive of his own death. And Philo's conception of the Law is so elastic, that in one place he refers to the Psalter under that name.§

"According to a well-known passage in the Talmud," writes Professor Robertson Smith, "even the Prophets and Hagiographa were implicitly given to Moses at Sinai. Beginnings of this method are seen in Esra ix. 11, where a law of the Pentateuch is cited as an ordinance of the Prophets. Mosaic law is not held to exclude post-Mosaic developments."||

(d) Our Lord's method of quotation does not decide the matter.

(a) His uniqueness is rightly based by apologists, e.g., Dr. Hettinger,¶ upon this also, that, whereas even Socrates is often

* "Einleitung," *loc. cit.*, p. 283.

† "Gesch. d. bibl. Offenbarung," ed. 1876, p. 374; "Einleitung," p. 274; *Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1884, p. 197; "C. de l'A. T.," p. 39; "Der Prediger," 1884, *passim*.

‡ Kaulen, *loc. cit.*, p. 281; Loisy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 18-21; "Adv. haer.," iii. c. 21, 22.

§ "De Vita Moysis," iii. 39; "Antiqu. Jud.," iv. 326; Ryle, "Philo and Holy Scripture," 1895, p. xxviii.

|| "Old Testament in Jewish Church," pp. 312, 313; Berachoth Bab., 5a; "Talmud Jer. Megilla," i. 5; [iv. 1.]

¶ "Apologie," ed. 1867, i. 2, p. 440.

busy with morally indifferent matters (see three cases in Dr. Xenophon's "Memorabilia," iii. 10), Christ's teaching remains exclusively occupied with matters of immediate moral and religious import. But that complicated problem, the precise authorship of the several Bible books, is no such matter. Hence His very greatness would lead Him to adopt the current literary attributions.

(β) His whole method was demonstrably one of minute conformity to all the habits of His time and people, where principle permitted. So with the *κράσπεδα*, the "hem of His garment," no doubt the four blue or white tassels worn by every strict Jew on the four corners of his cloak.* So with the *ἐν τῷ βύτῳ* = "in" or "at the bush," i.e., on occasion of the story of the bush. He is referring to this section by the title which, for purposes of reference, had been popularly associated with it, exactly as Philo does.†

(γ) He says in John vii. 22: "Moses gave you circumcision."

"Whether," says Miss Wedgwood, "the correction, 'not that it is of Moses, but the fathers,' be from the speaker or the writer, we have the name of Moses used, at a critical moment and in a serious argument addressed to Jews, as a mere type of the Jewish law." "A careful study of Christ's quotations will show that inspiration was to Him a heritage of the race, that its individual channels had as little importance as that of the cup filled at a running stream."‡

(ε) In the New Testament the authorship of the Joannine Gospel and Epistles, and of the Epistles to the Hebrews, Jude and II. Peter has its difficulties.

But as to the first, the very learned, "advanced," indeed often reckless Paul de Lagarde writes :

I have long since convinced myself that the Fourth Gospel with the three Joannine Epistles are by the author of the Revelation of John, and that this author is no other than St. John the Apostle.§

Indeed "the certainty of Justin Martyr's knowledge of this gospel" || makes it necessary that it should have been written by

* Schanz, "Comment. über Mtt.," 1879, p. 276.

† *Ibid.*, p. 357. Ryle, *loc. cit.*, p. xxii.

‡ "The Message of Israel," 1894, pp. 48, 301.

§ "Deutsche Schriften," ed. 1886, p. 70.

|| So even Julicher, "Einl. in das N. T.," 1894, p. 250.

St. John, or, at the least, put into final form and published at Ephesus, soon after his death, by an immediate disciple of his.

As to Hebrews, it need not be taken as fully Pauline. Origen says its thoughts are St. Paul's, "but God knows who wrote it"; St. Jerome, that many hold Barnabas or Clement to be its author, "but indeed it does not matter whose it is, since it is by some ecclesiastical author, and is honoured through daily reading by the Churches"; Estius (1613), that the matter and order are St. Paul's, the composition St. Clement's or rather St. Luke's; Dr. Kaulen, that St. Paul occasioned and sent, that one of his disciples, probably St. Clement, wrote it; Abbé Loisy, that "the attitude of the West towards Hebrews has but one plausible explanation: that the Roman Church, which knew the Epistle before 100 A.D., did not know it as by St. Paul, but another writer, not an Apostle. Was it Barnabas, as thought Tertullian?"* In any case, he was a Paulinising Jew-Christian of Alexandrian culture.

As to the closely allied, relatively unimportant, obscure little Epistles of Jude and II. Peter, the following three points appear to be secured. There is no serious difficulty about the authorship of Jude. Even the "advanced" Dr. von Soden admits:

That a younger "Brother" of Our Lord, whose missionary travels (1 Cor. ix. 5) may have led among Heathen-Christian circles, should have written this epistle at a late date, say 80-90 A.D., cannot reasonably be declared impossible.†

II. Peter is directly dependant upon St. Jude. The strict Catholics, Drs. Hundhausen and Kaulen declare: "It is hardly doubtful that the substance of the Epistle of St. Jude (vv. 3-18) is interwoven with the texture (i. 20-iii. 3) of II. Peter."‡ The question as to whether the writer be St. Peter himself, or one writing in his person, is but a question of fact. For if such impersonation be not incompatible with veracity and Inspiration in the case of Solomon in the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiastes, neither is it necessarily incompatible with either, here, in the case of St. Peter.

* "Eus. H. E.," vi. 25; "Epist. ad Dard.," No. 129; "In. Pauli Epp. Comment.," ed. 1843, v. vi. p. 12; "Einleitung," p. 544; "C. du N. T.," 1891, p. 277.

† "Hand-Komm. z. N. T.," iii. 1890, p. 166.

‡ Kaulen, *loc. cit.*, p. 566.

(5) Canonicity does not involve unity of authorship. This is clear, in the Old Testament, in the case of the Psalter, although held to be entirely by David, by SS. John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and others; and of Proverbs, although frequently ascribed by the Fathers to Solomon alone.* Two authors are admitted for Job, by Dr. Bickell and Abbé Loisy, who give Elihu's speech to a later author; † and for Isaiah, by at least four Catholic authorities. ‡ “The Deutero-canonical fragments of Esther formed certainly no part of its first redaction; the same is probable in the case of Daniel; yet all these (eight) additions are sacred and canonical.” § Four authors, we have seen, are admitted by several Catholics for the Pentateuch, which would thus become for the Old Testament something like what Tatian's Diatessaron (165 A.D. ?) would have been in the New Testament, had this Harmony been preserved alone, instead of the four Gospels separately. ||

As to the New Testament, we have Catholic authorities admitting successive work in SS. Matthew and Luke. ¶ For the passages, Mark xvi. 9-20, and John v. 4; vii. 53-viii. 11, omitted by all the great Uncials, we have the weighty opinions of Padre Vercellone: “The opinion is probable that up to the present the authenticity of these passages has not been defined;” and of Abbé Loisy:

We may consider it a point of faith that the evangelic fragments specially intended by Trent (i.e., Mark xvi. 9-20, Luke xxii. 43, 44, John vii. 53-viii. 11) are canonical, the work of inspired authors, but it is not of faith that they are respectively by SS. Mark, Luke and John.**

(6) As to the Authenticity of the Latin Vulgate.

“Where,” says Dr. Kaulen, “it can be proved that a particular shorter or longer passage was not received from the first in the Vulgate, the rejection of its Scriptural Authenticity is compatible with the Tridentine Decree.” †† Hence, as to I. John v. 7, Fr. Cornely, S.J., tells us that

* Kaulen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 261, 269.

† “Buch Job,” 1894, pp. 12, 57; “Le Livre de Job,” 1892, pp. 22-44.

‡ DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1896, pp. 321, 322.

§ “C. du N. T.,” p. 263.

|| DUBLIN REVIEW, *loc. cit.*, pp. 320, 321.

¶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 1894, pp. 333-336.

** “Sulla Autenticità delle s. parti della Volgata,” 1866, p. 45; “C. du N. T.,” pp. 243, 244, 262, 263.

†† “Gesch. d. Vulgata,” 1868, p. 393.

"The whole question is only whether the Trinitarian argument from this verse is strictly Scriptural or Traditional," and leaves us free to accept or reject the Scriptural Authenticity.* Dr. Kaulen says: "The passage is to be viewed as a Commentary, venerable through its wide prevalence, on verse 8."† The same is the view of Professors Scholz, 1836; Bisping, 1871; Schanz-Aberle; Paulin Martin, 1889; Loisy, 1891.

2. And critics join hands with theologians in the following points:

(1) The reasonableness of a separate sacred literature, and the basing its claims on its coming from a previous special Revelation, and its leading to a subsequent special Interpretation.

Professor Robertson Smith says:

To say that God speaks to all men alike, without the use of a revealing agency, reduces religion to mysticism. There is a positive element in all religion, an element learnt from our predecessors. If what is so learnt is true, we must ultimately come back to a point in history when it was new truth, acquired by some particular man or men, who, not getting it from their predecessors, must have got it by personal revelation from God Himself.‡

And Professor Bruce:

"The Bible was to (the older Protestant) theologians not only the record of revelation, but revelation itself"; and yet just "in this respect is the Bible unique, that it is a literature which providentially grew up around a historical revelation of God in Israel."§

And Canon Gore concludes: "It is, we may perhaps say, becoming more and more difficult to believe in the Bible without believing in the Church."||

(2) The Deutero-canonical Books.

Professor Sanday says: "I confess that the Roman definitions on this head do not seem to be irreconcilable with fact and history, or to be such as need divide churches."¶

(3) The high purity of text still attainable in the New Testament.

See the nobly warm defence, chiefly with regard to St. Paul's main Epistles, by so "advanced" a critic as Dr. Kuenen;

* "Introd. in libros N. T.," 1886, pp. 669-681.

† "Einleitung," p. 36.

§ "Apologetics," pp. 300, 302.

¶ "Inspiration," 1893, p. 275.

‡ "O. T. in J. C.," pp. 11, 12.

|| "Lux Mundi," ed. 1891, p. 248.

the striking warnings of Dr. Jülicher ; and the testimony of such fearless textual critics as Drs. Westcott and Hort, who say, after years of closest labour at the New Testament text :

In the variety and fulness of the evidence on which it rests, the text of the New Testament stands absolutely, unapproachably alone among prose writings. . . . We cannot too strongly express our disbelief in the existence of undetected interpolations of any moment. . . . The New Testament books, as preserved in extant documents, assuredly speak to us, in every important respect, in language identical with that in which they spoke to those for whom they were first written.*

IV.

The second doctrine, Inspiration, lands us in full transcendence. "Inspiration," says Professor Schell, "is, by its very nature, a transcendental mystery, cognisable by Revelation alone."†

1. The discriminations of theologians are as follows :

(1) Inspiration and Theism.

"Inspiration," writes Professor Schell, "is understandable only by means of a full and deep apprehension of the theistic conception of God, as an infinite Power enclosing, bearing, exciting all finite being and action, and this by being itself effective, not by renouncing its own effectiveness. God always acts as strengthening and awakening from within, whenever He vouchsafes new objects of thought and of aim from above."‡

(2) Inspiration is omnipresent.

"Inspiration, then, does not formally signify a shifting in the relations between the divine and the human causality to the disadvantage of the latter, but a heightening both of the divine influence and of the human spontaneous activity. Materially, it extends as far as the human authorship, including the will, the plan or thoughts, and the execution or words ; for these three activities are not only synchronous but conditional, and influence each other mutually, so that no one or no two of them would suffice as the sole vehicle of Inspiration. In all limiting schemes the spontaneous share of the sacred writer falls short of the origination of other writers, whilst God on His part does not fully speak to us.§

* "Ges. Abhandlungen," pp. 330-369 ; "Einleitung," pp. 401, 402 ; "The New Testament in Greek ;" Introd., pp. 278, 281, 284.

† "Dogmatik," i. p. 112.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 100.

§ "Dogmatik," pp. 103, 104.

"The error consists," writes Padre Semeria, "in putting the question thus: 'Are the words inspired?' The book is inspired: the book is, so to say, a multiple production, like the construction of a house. To ask whether the action which terminates in the whole does not act equally upon the parts is absurd; we might as well ask whether the architect of the house has built the bricks."*

"The whole inspired book," urges Abbé Loisy, "is the joint work of God and of man: of God as principal, of man as subordinate author."†

(3) Inspiration and consciousness.

"The inspiration of the will to write," says Dr. Schell, "stands above and acts through the factors which usually occasion literary labours, by either creating or simply using the appropriate circumstances."‡ "The sacred writers," says Dr. Dausch, "could be conscious or not of (the inspirational character of) their impulse to write. The prophets were often directly ordered to write down their visions; but who would assume for the apostles, for St. Luke, a conscious special impulse? Was not the general order of Christ to proclaim His Gospel sufficient?"§

But in every case the writer would remain thoroughly conscious of what he was writing.

"The only proper idea of Inspiration," writes Fr. Clarke, "is that God used His instruments as men, preserving their human faculties so that they knew and understood what they were saying and had said."||

(4) Inspiration is distinct from Revelation.

The Council of the Vatican defines that

The Church holds the Scriptural books as sacred and canonical not only because they contain Revelation without error, but because, having been written under the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their Author.¶

They contain Revelation; they are inspired and Word of God.

"Revelation and scriptural Inspiration," writes Dr. Dausch, "are essentially different; even in the case of the prophets, revelation must have preceded registration both in time and logic. The Apostles, again, did not surely require special revelations with a view to writing. And would

* *Revue Biblique*, "Chronique d'Italie," Avril 1893.

† "Études Bibliques," p. 69.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 105.

§ "Die Schriftinspiration," 1891, p. 240.

|| *Tablet*, May 5, 1894, p. 682.

¶ Denzinger, *loc. cit.*, No. 1636.

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it not suffice for the Psalmist that his canticles should have issued from his heart habitually steeped in the Spirit of God?"*

(5) Inspiration and Truth.

Inspiration everywhere effects and guarantees at least a relative and economic truth, such a minimum of adaptation to the scientific persuasions and historical standards and methods of the time and place, as was necessary if the Divine Message was to be not only true but understandable, not only Word of God, but Word of God through particular men to particular men.

"By the relative side of the Bible," writes Abbé Loisy, "Revelation was proportioned to the requirements of the times in which it appeared. This was a necessity, and this necessity could not but become an imperfection in the course of ages, when the progress of the sciences should have transformed astronomy, cosmology, the natural sciences, and even the secular history of humanity." But "the perpetual *magisterium* of the Church is there, to discern for us infallibly, under the ancient form which was its vehicle, the ever new truth contained in Scripture."†

And these ready-found relativities, the necessary starting-points and vehicles for the imparting of new, supernatural truth, were, even taken in themselves, never simply, formally erroneous.‡ This I shall now attempt to show.

(a) "The sacred writers," says the Encyclical, "described and dealt with the things of the visible universe in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to." And this because "they did not intend to teach men the

* "Die Schriftinspiration," 1891, p. 240.

† "Et. Bibl.," pp. 70, 71.

‡ The Encyclical says, indeed, "There are those who wrongly think that, in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it." But a little earlier it tells us that "to understand how just" is a rule just quoted from St. Augustine with regard to apparent conflicts between Scripture and Science, "we must remember first that the Holy Ghost who spoke by the sacred writers did not intend to teach men those things (i.e., the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable unto salvation." Now these two passages are contradictory, unless we take the italicised words as a limiting clause, and understand the first passage, not to forbid us "to consider the reason and purpose which God had in mind in what He has said" (for this is precisely what is done, for all natural science, in the second passage), but only to forbid us doing so with a view to declaring any passage either non-inspired or, though inspired, false.

essential nature of the things of the visible universe, things in no way profitable unto salvation." * Now it is simply through-out Scripture that by universal consent† the Inspirer thinks, and the writer writes *and thinks and understands what he writes*. Hence it follows that even when there is no intention to teach, the writer must have thought something. And since, in all cases of science, these thoughts are but pre-existent persuasions, unconscious of any alternative, never formal exclusive convictions, and there is no kind of intention to teach or systematise, the devout reader and the dogmatic theologian can entirely neglect these accessory thoughts, and yet attain the full object and formal teaching of the Bible. Still these persuasions are there, and subserve the same purpose as æther to light, atmosphere to sound, pigments to painting: they are the ready-found vehicles of Revelation, the runner who brings home the message. The theologian studies exclusively the light and the sound, the painting and the message; but the scholar, reconstructor of the whole mental environment and furniture of the past, cannot ignore the humble existence or character of this æther and atmosphere, these pigments, this runner. Since "no instruction concerning secular matters transcending the intellectual horizon of the times of composition can be expected"; ‡ since, in quasi-scientific passages when we find them in fault "the writers did not err, because they had no formal intention of teaching as true what we find incorrect," § it follows that we should be prepared for the traces of such persuasions in cases such as the immovableness of the earth, the shortness of the periods of Creation, the universality of the Flood. As to the first, Abbé Loisy tells us: "From one end of Scripture to the other the earth is supposed to be really immovable under the dome of the heavens"; as to the second, Fr. von Hummelauer, S.J., says: "The Scriptural text of Genesis i., according to its literal sense, speaks exclusively of six ordinary days of twenty-four hours each"; as to the third, see the same writer's very friendly account of the many approved Catholics who now

* *Tablet*, Jan. 6, 1894, p. 10a.

† *E.g.*, Padre Brandi, "La Questione Biblica," 1894, pp. 21, 22.

‡ Schanz, "Theol. Quart.-Schrift," 1895, p. 182.

§ Loisy, *loc. cit.*, p. 92.

teach an even ethnographically limited Deluge.* Yet, in the first case, Scripture is but teaching the glory and immovableness of the Eternal; in the second, the grand order and successiveness, the freedom and goodness of Creation; in the third, not an exact history, but the moral lesson of the divine estimate and punishment of sin.

(b) "The principles," says the Encyclical, "here laid down" (with respect to natural science), "will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history."†

"By cognate sciences," says Fr. Clarke, "are intended sciences cognate with physical sciences, i.e., sciences whose conclusions are not *per se* theological, though they may be put to religious uses." For "Revelation is doctrine given by historical events, e.g., the Resurrection, and in that case, as in the Bible history generally, the teaching of history is the teaching of doctrine."‡

"The Encyclical," writes Fr. Lucas, S.J., "nowhere determines which of the Old Testament Books are historical; but only lays it down, as I understand its teachings, that those books or parts of books which claim to be truly historical are historically true."§

"This is of importance," adds Dr. Schanz, "for whole books and the whole method of ancient, hence also sacred, historiography. When the sacred writers do not claim to write history or to write it as demanded by modern criticism, they cannot be accused of error, if the representation does not completely correspond to the standard of severely historical science."||

"The aim," writes Abbé Loisy, "pursued by the writers to whom we owe the general narratives of the beginning of Genesis, was one of religious and moral instruction. All the historical interpretations of the narrative are but so many hypotheses, to be classified according to their degree of probability. The (religious and) moral signification is the only point absolutely outside discussion, because it is the only point which the authors really intended to treat."¶

Cardinal Meignan agrees :

The aim of the inspired author to whom we owe the preservation and redaction of the narratives of Genesis i.-xi. is, primarily, religious and moral instruction. One never succeeds in building more than varying probable hypotheses upon the details of the narrative; only (the religious

* Loisy, *loc. cit.*, p. 92; "Comm. in Genesim," 1895, pp. 65; 223-256. He adopts the vision-theory for the cosmogony, a theory which does no violence to the text, but is nowhere suggested by it. The ideal interpretation, as advocated by P. Semeria in the *Revue Biblique*, 1894, avoids both drawbacks.

† *Tablet*, *loc. cit.*, p. 106.

§ *Month*, June 1894, p. 154.

¶ "Ét. Bibl.," pp. 27-29.

‡ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1894, p. 642.

|| *Loc. cit.* p. 188.

and) moral signification remains always outside discussion, because it is the only point which the writer had in view. *

"In Chronicles," declares Professor Schanz, "many differences of dates and facts could be adduced, which are explicable in part from the aim of the book, in great part only from the use of different sources." †

As to the aim of the Redactor :

"The critics," says Dom Howlett, "declare that Chronicles, Tobit, Esther, Judith, Jonas, are instances of Jewish *Haggadah*, or narratives intended to convey some moral lesson, not strictly historical, but founded upon history. That, in the abstract, such books might exist in the Bible, there is no reason to deny." Father Cornely, Dr. Dereser, and Drs. Jahn, Movers, Scholz, are referred to as holding some such views with regard to the first, second and fourth book respectively. ‡

As to the character of his sources :

"Many things," says St. Jerome, "are said in Scripture according to the opinion of the times to which the events (*gesta*) are referred, and not according to the objective reality (*rei veritas*)," §

Abbé Loisy sums up :

All the books and the different parts of each book of the Old Testament have not the same historical character, and all the Biblical books were drawn up according to processes freer than those of modern historiography. ||

2. The admissions of the critics are as follows :

(1) The truthfulness of Scripture :

"No doubt," says Dr. Kuenen, "we find a particular pragmatic aim in many Biblical narratives ; but we must carefully guard against representing it as purely arbitrary. If the writer puts facts in a particular light, he no doubt does so *in order that* others may see them in the same light, but still first of all *because* he himself so sees them. As a matter of fact, the Biblical writers saw persons and things in the same light as that in which they present them to us." ¶

(2) The scientific value of the Biblical Cosmogony :

"Among all ancient theories," says Dr. Dillmann, "the Biblical narrative approaches most nearly to the results of physical science." **

"It presents us," writes Dr. Driver, "with a series of representative pictures remarkably suggestive of the (scientific) reality, if only they be not treated as 'a revelation of it.'" ††

* "L'A. Testament dans s. rapports avec le N.," 1895, p. 101.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 191.

‡ DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1894, pp. 77, 93.

§ "In Jerem.," c. 28.

|| *Loc. cit.*, p. 80.

¶ "Ges. Abb.," p. 38.

** "Genesis," ed. 1886, p. 11.

†† *Expositor*, Jan. 1886, p. 41.

(3) Scripture unique among all sacred books.

Professor Max Müller, of singular competence and enthusiasm as to the latter, confesses :

The pioneer workers in the sacred Oriental literature have raised expectations that cannot be fulfilled, fears also that are unfounded. Try and imagine what the Old Testament would have been if it had not been kept distinct from the Talmud, or the New Testament if it had been mixed up with the spurious gospels, and the records of the wranglings of the early Councils, if you would understand, to some extent, the wild confusion of sublime truth with vulgar stupidity that meets us in the Veda, the Avesta, and the Tripitaka." *

V.

The third doctrine, Revelation, brings us at last to the real *raison d'être* of the Bible and of the Church.

1. Theologians distinguish as follows :

(1) All Revelation foreshadows or reflects the Incarnation, and shares in its touching condescension, economy and adaptation to our needs. Nowhere is it a monologue of the Absolute Mind, but everywhere a message from the Absolute Mind, through a finite mind to finite minds.

"The connection," writes Father Clarke, "of the faith and morals with history, science, and so on, is so close that, however a theologian or theological school may begin, the end uniformly is that either the principle of reserve, which is that of the Encyclical, or the principle of mistakes, which is that of the partial inspiration theory, is applied to both alike." †

"The truths of Faith and Morals, the special object of Revelation," says Abbé Loisy, "appear in the Scriptures such as the Biblical writers were capable or apprehending them." ‡

The truth, then, as revealed to us is not only *quantitatively* different from the truth as it is in God, but is also *qualitatively* adapted to our apprehension, whilst ever retaining the unique life-giving quality drawn from the Author of Life and Truth. As a Roman child was laid, new-born, at its father's feet, and only if he himself lifted it up was allowed to live ; as a mother's milk is uniquely adapted to her child, just because, though of

* "Sacred Books of the East," v. i., 1879, pp. x., xv.

† *Contemporary Review*, July 1894, p. 53.

‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 94.

her very essence, it is not identical with either the whole of her person or any other single part of her; so also with man: inconceivable creation must be followed by unutterable condescension, absolute truth must bend down and be proportioned to his needs, if he is to rise and to approach God, and is to grow into the image of His likeness.

(2) Hence, Revelation has a development.

Vincent of Lerins wrote, in 434 A.D., of the purely subjective development of doctrine in the Christian Church:

Is there no progress in the Church of Christ? Indeed there is, a very great one. Let the religion of souls imitate the growth of bodies; there is a great difference between blooming youth and mature old age; yet the very same individuals become old men who were youths.*

As to the objective development of doctrine in the Bible, Abbé Loisy tells us:

The ancient ages had such lights as sufficed for their needs. The Christian Revelation existed in germ before expanding fully at the coming of Our Lord. Neither should the theologian deny the existence of such a progress, nor the critic its legitimacy.

Now "this development of Biblical religious doctrine is shown in all its constituents: notion of God, the human destiny, the moral laws."†

(a) As to the nature of God:

"The Old Testament, *e.g.*, Job, attributes all phenomena directly to God. Our distinctions of orders, physical and moral, natural and supernatural, are absent. There is but one only order, the divine order of the universe. God marshals the clouds, the wind, the rain, the snow and hail. Storms, above all, are a kind of theophany."

And as to moral temptation:

"The accomplishment of Providential decrees, the language of the Old and even of the New Testament does not distinguish between the direct volitions and the simple permissions of God. From the point of view of the will of Providence, all appears as necessary, *e.g.*, the hardening of the Jewish people's heart takes place by a sort of divine necessity without suppressing human responsibility."‡

* "Common," cc. xxviii., xxix.

† *Loc. cit.*, pp. 80, 85.

‡ "Job," p. 69; "Évangiles Synoptiques," 1894, p. 298.

(b) As to the human destiny, Bishop Mignot tells us :

The ancient Jews had no very precise conceptions as to the immortality of the soul, eternal rewards or punishments; all was somewhat confused in their belief as to survival.*

Abbé Vigouroux says :

The Psalmist, as all the other pre-exilic Biblical writers, is silent as to future rewards, or at least does not speak of them clearly.†

And Abbé Loisy :

Job does not find his moral sanction in the alternatives beyond the grave; like the authors of Proverbs he has no idea of them, or at least does not dwell on them; he finds it in his unshaken faith in the justice of God. Death is not annihilation for the Hebrew sages; but man's continued existence is conceived only in the vaguest manner, and has a diminished, shadowy life, and his idea of retribution is not directly attached to it. They are all pre-occupied with the greatness of God and the nothingness of man."‡

(c) As to the Moral Laws :

"Divorce was permitted by the Mosaic Law (Deut. xxiv. 1). The husband could dismiss the wife for 'something shocking,' being bound only to give her a written attestation of separation: she was then free to re-marry. Jesus condemns divorce absolutely (Mat. v. 32, Mark x. 8-12). The *lex talionis* 'an eye for an eye' (Ex. xxi. 24) is a penal law founded on a principle of rigorous justice applied to an elementary social stage. The judge only was charged with its execution. Jesus views it as a moral law, and its execution in the substitution of all-suffering charity for claimful justice."§

(3) In the Imprecatory Psalms, "the Speaker," says Dr. Cheyne, "can be shown, in most cases, to be" not a private individual thirsting for private revenge, but "the Church or a typical pious Israelite" calling upon the Judge of all the earth to reveal His justice by deciding between His friends and His enemies.¶ Yet we cannot but say with Bishop Haneberg: "These Psalms seem clearly to belong to such antiquities as can never grow new."¶¶

* Vigouroux, "Dict. de la Bible," v. i., 1894, p. xxi.

† "Livres Saints et la Critique," vol. v. p. 56.

‡ "Job," pp. 85, 86.

§ "Synoptiques," pp. 194, 198.

¶ "Origin of Psalter," 1891, p. 258.

¶¶ "Gesch. d. bibl. Offenbarung," ed. 1876, p. 356.

The story of Jael and Sisera, the Books of Esther and Judith, require and admit analogous explanations and allowances.

Canticles is increasingly held to be a rudimentary drama, with three chief personages (King, Shepherd, Shepherdess), a view accepted as possible by Bishop Haneberg; * and hence as having, even in its literal sense, a high ethical object. Now "there exists," says Padre Semeria, "a Catholic School, as orthodox as the allegorical, which admits here a literal human sense and a divine typical sense" or intention: "faith assures us of the latter, it suffices that science should find nothing to oppose to it."† And this condition is fulfilled, for even the most "advanced" critics, from Herder (1778) to Cornill (1891), admire, "notwithstanding its Oriental taste, the deeply moral character of this unique book."‡ "The typical interpretation," says Dr. Driver, "is perfectly compatible with the literal sense."§ Fr. Gietman, S.J. (1891), has to place his allegorical interpretation within a narrow compass.

As to Ecclesiastes, the difficulties of its apparent teaching have by no one been more forcibly put than by Bishop Haneberg.¶ They are best met, if we admit: (1) that it was written in times of terrible anarchy and decay, about 200 B.C., and that it is "upon life not absolutely, but as he witnessed it, that the writing passes sentence;" and (2) that he stands between the pre-exilic period when the individual found his end in membership with his God-loved free nation, and the Christian dispensation with its clear, constant doctrine of the fuller life beyond the grave; and that hence, as the Ceremonial Law according to St. Paul, so this book also helps demonstrate the insufficiency of that covenant which was then "decaying and near its end" (Heb. viii. 13).¶

2. And even the most "advanced" of the serious critics increasingly admit the unique character or degree of the Bible's perception of religious and moral truth.

See Kuenen's severe castigation of Renan's presentation of the God of the Old Testament—*e.g.*, "his description of the

* *Loc. cit.*, pp. 375, 376.

† *Revue Bibl.*, *loc. cit.*

‡ Cornill's "Einleitung," p. 237.

§ "Introduction," ed. 1892, p. 424.

¶ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 370-372.

¶ See Driver, *loc. cit.*, p. 442; Nowack, "Der Prediger," 1893, p. 204.

nature and character of Jehovah is exaggerated and one-sided ; that of the so-called Elohimism is pure imagination.*

See Wellhausen's incidental remarks—*e.g.*,

"Among all ancient peoples there is a relation between the Deity and national affairs, the utilisation of religion as a mainspring for law and custom ; in no other people in such purity and strength as among the Jews." "Not through entrails or the flight of birds, but through men he spoke to men : that is the precise conception of Revelation—the mysterious relation between the divinity and the human spirit, which attains its fulness and becomes articulate in individual elect souls." "The highest flight of this divine spirit (of union with God) is to be found in Psalm lxiii. 23-26. Here the lost life is refound in a higher life, without the expression of any expectation of a beyond ; against death and devil the interior certainty of communion with God gets thrown into the scales. That is, of course, a degree of religion too high to appeal to the many." "Even the post-exilic Jews refused to part with the large-heartedness and rationality which is at the core of moral Theism ; even the Priestly Code puts forward the pre-Mosaic Patriarch Abraham as the finest pattern of devotion, and hence is well aware of a piety independent of the Ceremonial Law." "It is a marvel how for the Jews their God remained the most living personality. They were penetrated by and convinced of their religion in quite a different way than ever were the Greeks of their philosophy."†

See, finally, Mr. Montifore, who delights in Professor Sanday's "Inspiration" as a reminder to the Old Testament critics "of the limits of their tether and their province, and (if they need it) of the wonderful and unique character of the writings which they dissect ;" and who says :

So far as I have read the religious literature of other races, the words of the writers of the Bible seem to me to exceed the words of other great (and as I believe inspired) teachers in "fulness, power, and purity." Even Plato does not bring out the loving-kindness of God. I agree with Dr. Sanday when he says : 'On the greatest points of all, those which relate to the divine character and attributes, the Bible is not only supreme but unique. The believer in the Bible has no need to exaggerate, he has but to state the facts as they really are.'‡

VI.

And now these poor sketches are ended, with their perhaps, alas, bewildering analysis of the mere phenomena of those

* *Loc. cit.*, pp. 431-440.

† "Isr. u. Jüd. Geschichte," 1894, pp. 71, 69, 178, 180, 182.

‡ *Jewish Quarterly*, 1894, pp. 587, 588, 594.

sacred writings which lie for ever in the lap of our great mother, the Catholic Church. Such studies cannot reach, do not claim to attain the spiritual truth of Scripture, reserved for humble purity of heart, and the true teacher of us all. They can but help precisionise the successive whens and wheres, the secondary whys and hows of the apparition, throughout fourteen centuries and more, of God's condescensions to us creatures here in time and space, and to remove obstacles out of the way of upward-moving souls. For hopeful symptoms are abroad of a return and an advance to Theism, to Christianity, to the Church's fully transcendent life. Let men but give the Church a fair trial by action, and they will find in her the "justification, against a vain and temerarious science, of the noble folly of living, and, if need be, dying, to save one's soul."* But previous, carefully courageous discrimination will, on our part, be wanted, in view of such a cry as "the Bankruptcy of Science"—a cry so true and hopeful with respect to the claims of its over-eager votaries to have reached the reality of anything, or to have supplied life with one single sufficient motive for action; so dangerously excessive a reaction, if applied to the undoubted achievements of the sciences, each within its own domain, which are renewing the face of the earth and the phenomena of history.

And the conception of Scripture which, if thus occasioned, is really caused by the Church's own secular positions, fits in well with all we have each of us experienced of God's dealings within us and without. I look within me, and I see how God has ever used the old surface-knowledge which He found there, as a starting-point, frame and vehicle for my apprehension of the new deeper light and love that He was giving me; and this in proportion as He had made me fit to "bear" some of the "many things" which He had "to tell" me. I look up at Him, throning on our altars, and I see a condescension too great for any one but Him alone. I look around me, a mere unit among my fellows, that "greater part which must be content to be as though they had not been, to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man," and I realise that it was from the midst of such a crowd that an obscure woman was

* Blondel's "l'Action," 1893, p. 490.

moved to bless "the womb that bore Him and the breasts that gave Him suck;" that it was to this one among the world-forgotten many that He revealed the "Still more blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it," as His hidden mother had done so perfectly throughout the silent years. And so I am ready for the Church's Bible, and its having taken men successively as it found them, inerrantly using their existent sublunar persuasions as the vehicles of supernatural truth; for its divinely deep condescension; and for its being the ever-growing manifestation of an inexhaustible Person, as test and food and reward of poverty of spirit and purity of heart. Only through what I may keep and gain in common with the truly humblest of my fellows, can my soul's ear be won to the divine harmonies of the Spirit in Scripture, and of that "God-gifted organ-voice" of all men, the testimony, teaching and authority of the Catholic Church.

FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL.

ART. IV.—PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES.

1. *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Mit Benutzung des päpstlichen Geheim-Archives und vieler anderer Archive bearbeitet von DR. LUDWIG PASTOR. Zweiter Band: Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance von der Thronbesteigung Pius' II. bis zum Tode Sixtus' IV. Zweite Auflage. Freiburg: Herder. 1894.*
2. *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Original Sources. From the German of Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck. Edited by FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, of the Oratory. Vols. III. and IV. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1894.*

THE sale of the first two volumes of the English translation of Pastor's History of the Popes has been so successful that Father Antrobus has been encouraged to bring out two other volumes, thus completing all that portion already written by Dr. Pastor. Though a certain degree of uniformity has been preserved, the reader will note with satisfaction that the new instalment presents a far better appearance than its predecessor. Moreover, he will find that the blemishes which detracted from the perfection of the earlier volumes have been, as a rule, carefully guarded against in those which now lie before us. He will, however, regret that Dr. Pastor's divisions and numbering have not been retained; and though the Table of Contents in the English version is an excellent one, it is rather an original composition than a translation. But let us say, once for all, that Father Antrobus and his colleagues have done their work admirably.

Of Dr. Pastor's characteristics as a historian something was said in a former number of this Review [July 1892]. The present volumes tend to confirm the estimate there given. They display the same indefatigable search after truth, the

same plain-speaking about the defects of those in high places. So, too, they contain few brilliant pictures, little insight into character, and hardly any wide surveys of the course of events. The present writer is aware that he is expressing an opinion which will be controverted in some quarters. A history, we are often told, should not be a romance or a philosophical treatise. It has to deal with truth—the whole truth and nothing but the truth—and it should leave to the novelist all straining after “effect” and to the scientist all attempts to discover “laws.” This view, though commonly accepted in Germany and to a less extent in England, is surely not the true one. History, like any other branch of study, should serve “for delight, for ornament, and for ability.” A bare presentation of facts will attain none of these purposes. Nevertheless, no writer can henceforth deal with the period embraced by Dr. Pastor without consulting these volumes; and the more they are studied the higher will be the estimate formed of the industry, the learning, and the honesty of their author.

At the death of Calixtus III. (1458) the Papal Restoration seemed to be complete. The anti-Popes had died in obscurity; disputed elections were heard of no more; Germany and Spain, England and France, all agreed in acknowledging one Pontiff as Head of the Church. The conciliar party had been defeated, and all opposition from the East was at an end since the downfall of Constantinople. The revival of learning, which at first had threatened to be a revival of paganism, had been christianized by having a Pope as its most munificent patron. The Turks, though they had gained possession of the capital of the East, had found in the sturdy Hungarians and Albanians far tougher foes than the effete and degenerate Greeks. Still, much remained to be accomplished, and signs were not wanting of yet greater difficulties in the not distant future. The conciliar party had been defeated, but only for the moment. They still clamoured loudly for reform in head and members. Serious dangers, too, were to be apprehended from the Cardinals, who were more than ever bent on curtailing the papal prerogatives and turning the government of the Church into an oligarchy consisting of themselves. Civil war in England and the struggle with the Moors in Spain deprived both of these powers of any external influence; but France

was hankering after a renewal of the Avignon vassalage, while Germany threatened heresy in addition to schism. Italy, hopelessly at variance with itself, proved a greater trial to the Popes than the countries beyond the Alps. The alliance between the Papacy and the Renaissance had been the means of introducing dangerous and unworthy elements into the Church. The Turks, though they had been checked at Belgrade, were now consolidating their conquests and making ready for fresh advances. Such was the position of the Papacy at the opening of the period which we are now about to study. We must bear in mind throughout that our subject is the history, not of the Church, but of the Popes. Though the interests of the head and the members may be the same, their activities necessarily differ. Hence we are to confine our attention to those transactions in which the Popes directly played a part. And we shall note, too, what has already attracted our attention, that each pontificate has a character of its own. There is, of course, a certain continuity, a certain sameness, between a Pope and his predecessors and his successors; but there are also, at times, marked differences. To go no further than the former volumes, no one can have failed to be struck with the change from the stern, ascetic Eugenius to the scholarly and artistic Nicholas, and from him again to the fiery old warrior, Calixtus.

The conclave which ensued at the death of Calixtus III. was short. Capranica, who beyond doubt was the fittest for the tiara, was unfortunately carried off by fever just before the assembling of the cardinals. The French party endeavoured to secure the election of D'Estouteville, but in spite of their efforts the requisite majority of votes were speedily given to Piccolomini, who took the title of Pius II. (August 19, 1458).

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, a scion of a noble but impoverished family, was born at Corsignano, near Siena, in the year 1405. He was bred to the law, but soon forsook his professional studies to devote himself with ardour to the classics. In his twenty-seventh year his ability attracted the attention of Cardinal Capranica, who carried him away to the Council of Basle. There the young Humanist became a violent opponent of the Papal party; and when his patron became reconciled with Eugenius IV. he transferred his ser-

vices to Cardinal Albergati. He was then (1438) sent on a secret mission to Scotland and England, where he encountered many romantic and dangerous adventures.* On his return to Basle he divided his time between opposition to the Pope and the society of a circle of friends, like himself, of studious habits and lax morals. It must be borne in mind that at this time he was not an ecclesiastic, and that he frankly admitted his unfitness for so high a calling.† His letters and his writings, notably a short story in Boccaccio's style, betray the most shameless immorality. But as he drew near to middle life a great change came over his opinions and his character. The party to which he belonged was daily losing ground. His patron, the anti-Pope, Felix V., had not the smallest chance of supplanting the legitimate Pontiff. Taking advantage of Frederick III.'s visit to Basle, Æneas Sylvius joined his service and went with him to Austria (1442). Three years later he was actually sent to Rome to make arrangements with Eugenius for the holding of a council. The meeting between the Pope and his antagonist promised to be a stormy one, but the envoy won over Eugenius by a speech of consummate skill.‡ A year later he became a priest (1446), and henceforth was a staunch supporter of the Papal cause. So complete a conversion has naturally called forth the most diverse judgments on the part of historians. Some have seen in it nothing but the worldly wisdom of a partisan quitting the losing side and throwing in his lot with the victors. But the fact that Æneas Sylvius not only changed sides but also began to lead a decorous and even devout life, shows that the step which he took was not influenced merely by unworthy motives. At any rate he soon gave proof of his devotion to the Holy See. The opposition of the German princes had long been a source of anxiety to Eugenius IV. Æneas Sylvius returned to Germany and succeeded first in breaking up the League of the Electors, and then in inducing them to send a conciliatory embassy with him to Rome. Under Nicholas V. he was frequently employed

* A most interesting account of these is given in his "Commentaries," the substance of which may be seen in Dr. Creighton's "History of the Papacy," vol. ii. book iv.

† "Timeo enim continentiam" he wrote to one of his friends.

‡ Pastor, vol. i. p. 345.

in diplomatic missions, but his services met with no great reward. His cardinal's hat was bestowed upon him, not by that enlightened patron of the Renaissance, but, strangely enough, by the warrior-Pontiff, Calixtus III.

Truly, Pius II. was the very personification of the Renaissance. Pagan, anti-Papal, immoral as he had been, he became, without relinquishing his love of letters, one of the most honoured occupants of the Holy See. The Humanists hailed his accession with delight, for they expected the return of the golden age of Nicholas V.; but the new Pontiff was too much of an author himself to play the part of a mere Maecenas. He continued to labour at his magnificent work, "A Geographical and Ethnographical Description of the whole of the known World, with historical illustrations," in which he displays great elevation of thought, acute observation, and a knowledge of the influence of geography on history, far in advance of his age. In his preface he apologises for the fact that a Pope should have any time to devote to literature.

Our time has not been taken from our duties, but we have robbed our old age of its rest that we might hand down to posterity all that we know to be memorable. We have given to writing the hours due to sleep. Some will say that we might have spent our vigils better. We know that many of our predecessors made better use of their leisure; but ours is not unfruitfully employed, for knowledge begets prudence, and prudence is the guide of life.*

But the work by which he is best known is his *Memoirs*. All through his eventful life it was his wont to make notes of all that befell him, all that he had seen, and all that he learned from others. The first book, which contains the story of his life before his Pontificate, is the only portion which is more than a rough draft; the remainder is composed of fragments arbitrarily pieced together. Though it naturally represents its author in the best light in the various transactions of his career it is nevertheless recognised as a high authority for the history of his times.

In his "Commentaries" (says Dr. Creighton, vol. ii. p. 489) we have the best literary work of *Æneas*. The study of history was to him the source of instruction in life, the basis for the formation of his character.

* See Creighton, vol. ii. p. 488.

He looked upon events with reference to their results in the future, and his actions were regulated by a strong sense of historical proportion. Similarly, the present was to him always the product of the past, and he shaped his motives by reference to historical antecedents. It was probably this historical point of view which made him engage in so many schemes, because he felt that, when once affairs were in movement, the skilful statesman might be able to reap some permanent advantage. He was not willing to let slip any opportunity which might afford an opening for his political dexterity. Had he been less of a student, had his mind been less fertile, he might have concentrated his energies more successfully on one supreme object.

His enemies lost no opportunity of dragging his early licentious writings into light. Pius sadly recognised that he could neither disavow nor suppress them. *Semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum*. He could only, like another Augustine, retract what he had written. "Follow what we now say," he writes, "believe the old man rather than the youth; esteem not the layman higher than the Pope; cast away Æneas, hold fast to Pius; the gentile name was given us by our parents at our birth, the Christian name we took on our Pontificate." This is surely a sufficient answer to all the cavils which still are repeated against him by the enemies of the Church. Had he continued his former irregularities, had he gloried in his shameful writings, he would have deserved our severest reprobation. But to charge the penitent Pius with the misdeeds of the profligate Æneas is most unjust and unreasonable.

The great aim of Pius' pontificate was to deliver the East from the Turks. No sooner was he crowned than he invited all Christian kings and princes to meet him in congress at Mantua. He himself set out from Rome in January 1459. And here it may be remarked that few Popes have been such great travellers as Pius. His geographical writings were no mere compilations, but were in many parts the result of his own observations. He had a keen eye for beautiful or striking scenery, and hence his works abound in admirable descriptions.* When he reached his destination he found that none of those who had been invited had yet appeared. In truth, the Christian

* An account of Pius' progress through the various Italian cities may be seen in Pastor, vol. iii. p. 47 *seq.*

sovereigns were much more bent on their own aggrandisement than on beating off the advance of the Turk. The Emperor Frederick, on whom the brunt of the defence should have fallen, had taken advantage of the misfortunes of Matthias Corvinus to get himself declared King of Hungary. The other German princes also held aloof. Charles VII. of France was incensed with Pius for recognising Ferrante as King of Naples in opposition to the Angevin claimant. It was not until September that the arrival of some of the Italian princes and embassies from Corvinus and the Duke of Burgundy enabled the Pope to open the Congress. Pius himself delivered a lengthy and eloquent address, in which he described in touching terms the miseries of the conquered countries and bewailed the indifference of the western nations to their fate.* Later on, the representatives of France and Germany arrived, but they showed little enthusiasm for the crusade. All agreed that war should be undertaken against the Turks, but there was the greatest diversity of opinion as to the means of prosecuting the war. The Venetians especially distinguished themselves by the urgency of their demands both for leadership and for money. Pius lamented his own inability to take personal part in the campaign. "Oh, had we but the youthful vigour of our former days† you should not have gone without us into battle or into danger. We ourselves would bear the Cross of Our Lord; we would uphold the banner of Christ against the Infidel, and would think ourselves happy if it were given to us to die for the Faith." A decree was passed ordering all ecclesiastics to contribute a tithe of their revenues, all the laity a thirtieth, and the Jews a twentieth. Meanwhile the terrible Mahomet II. was steadily annexing the yet unconquered portions of the Balkan peninsula. In the north Servia was seized, while in the south he overran the Morea. Then in the far east, Sinope and Trebizond, the relics of the old Eastern Empire, fell into his hands. A powerful fleet sailed over the Ægean Sea and took possession of nearly the whole of the Archipelago. Finally, the Sultan led a mighty host of 150,000 men into Bosnia. Bobovatz, the bulwark of

* Pastor, vol. iii. p. 79 *seq.*

† "O si quæ fuerant, juvenili in corpore vires," *Æn.*, v. 475.

the country, was at once treacherously surrendered to him, and Corvinus himself was starved into submission. Never was the Christian cause in a worse plight, and this after all the efforts of Calixtus and Pius! Those of the fallen princes who could make their escape flocked to Rome to implore the assistance of the Pontiff. Thomas Palæologus, despot of the Morea; Charlotte of Lusignan, Queen of Cyprus; Catherine, the mother of Corvinus, all found there a home and a generous protector.

But the troubles of the Pope were as great as the troubles of the exiles whom he befriended. His espousal of the cause of Ferrante stirred up dissension in Rome. Lawless bands of youths paraded the city and established a veritable reign of terror. The turbulent Roman barons took sides with René of Anjou, and entered into alliance with Piccinino and Malatesta, the Pope's most inveterate foes. His return to Rome (October 6, 1460) restored order within the city for the time.* But Malatesta, the powerful despot of Rimini, poet, philosopher, and patron of the arts, profligate, and warrior, continued till 1462 to disturb the northern provinces of the Papal dominions. More serious still was the hostility of France and Germany, the two great western powers of the continent. The Pragmatic sanction of Bourges, enacted as far back as 1438, had deprived the Holy See of all nominations to French benefices, and had forbidden the payment of any Papal taxes on their revenues; moreover, it had affirmed the superiority of Councils over the Pope. Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., and Calixtus III. had striven in vain to procure the repeal of this law. Undaunted by these repeated failures, Pius II. did not despair of success.† His espousal of Ferrante's cause

* His address to the envoys who met him at Viterbo, whether actually delivered or not, is worth quoting:—"What city is freer than Rome? You pay no taxes, you bear no burdens, you occupy the most honourable posts. You sell your wine and corn at the price you choose, and your houses bring you in rich rents. And, moreover, who is your ruler? Is he a count, a marquess, a duke, a king, or an emperor? No! one greater than all these—the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. He it is who brings you glory and prosperity, and attracts the wealth of the whole world to your gates."—Pii II., "Comment.," 113, 114.

† "The French prelates," he writes in his "Memoirs," p. 160, "supposed that they would have greater liberty; but, on the contrary, they have been brought into grievous bondage, and made the slaves of the laity. They are forced to give an account of their affairs to Parliament; to confer benefices according to the good pleasure of the king and the more powerful nobles; to promote minors, unlearned, deformed, and illegitimate persons to the priestly

against René, however, little disposed the French King, Charles VII., to come to any favourable terms. Louis XI., who succeeded in 1461, began his reign by reversing all his father's policy, and hence was not indisposed to treat. As might be expected from the character of that Macchiavelian prince and his unprincipled envoy, Jouffroy, the negotiations were based on the principle of *do ut des*. If the Pope would support René and assist in the subjugation of the Genoese, Louis would not only withdraw the Pragmatic sanction, but would also send an army of 70,000 against the Turks. We cannot here follow the tangled mazes of the diplomacy of both sides in this discussion.* Pius at one stage of the proceedings seemed disposed to yield. The objectionable statute was repealed, at first conditionally and afterwards unconditionally (1462). Jouffroy received the cardinal's hat, though his nomination was opposed by many members of the Sacred College on account of his evil life. But as soon as Louis found that the Pope was not to be won over, even by the promise of aid for his darling crusade, all the obnoxious provisions of the Pragmatic sanction were renewed, and the hostility of the French Court became more marked than ever. Meantime, Bessarion's mission to Germany had proved an utter failure. His principal antagonist had been Diether, who had caused himself to be chosen Archbishop of Mayence, and had refused to pay the fees exacted by the Papal chancery. When excommunicated for his contumacy he had appealed to a General Council, and had stirred up the Count Palatine Frederick, the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, his brothers Albert and John, together with the Bishop of Würzburg, to join in his appeal. At the Diet of Mayence

office ; to remit the punishment of those whom they have justly condemned ; to absolve the excommunicated without satisfaction. Any one conveying into France a Bull contrary to the Pragmatic sanction is made liable to the penalty of death. Parliament has meddled with the affairs of the bishops, with metropolitan churches, with marriage and matters of faith. The audacity of the laity has gone so far that even the most Holy Sacrament has been stopped by order of the king when borne in procession for the veneration of the people or for the consolation of the sick. Bishops and other prelates and venerable priests have been cast into common prisons. Church property and the goods of the clergy have been confiscated on trifling prettexts by a secular judge, and handed over to lay people." Is this a description of the Church in France in the middle of the fifteenth century, or at the end of the nineteenth ?

* Pastor, vol. iii. p. 136 *seq.*

he declared a Council to be the only remedy against the encroachments of Rome; he characterised the tithes and indulgences as frauds, and the Turkish war as merely a pretext to support them. This violent language on his part, and the conciliatory action of the Papal Nuncio, induced many of his supporters to fall away from him. A Bull was issued against him by Pius (January 8th, 1462), requiring him to give up all lands belonging to his bishopric; and, later on, Adolph of Nassau was nominated bishop in his stead. The whole story of Diether's conflict with the Holy See,* and the support which he received, is one more proof, if proof were needed, of the sure and certain preparation for the disastrous events of the next century. Much more was this the case in the dissensions between Bohemia and the Holy See—dissensions which were heretical rather than schismatical, and were all the more dangerous because the people as well as their princes were alienated from the teaching of the Church. Pius had himself been nuncio in Bohemia (1451), and so was in a position to understand thoroughly the celebrated compact entered into between the Bohemians and the Council of Basle (1433), whereby the use of the chalice had been granted to the laity. He knew well that the conditions insisted on by the Council† had been utterly disregarded, and that the compact had been used as a confirmation of heresy. Thus the Bohemians themselves had been the first to break the compact. Under these circumstances they could not complain when, after their envoys had been heard in Rome, the compact was annulled by the Holy See.‡

One of the first acts of Pius II.'s pontificate had been the appointment of a Commission to take measures for the reform of the Roman Court. "Two things are particularly near to my heart," he said to the members of this Commission, "the war with the Turks and the reform of the Roman Court." Two projects were brought forward: the one by Cardinal

* Pastor, vol. iii. p. 165 *seq.*

† When the Blessed Sacrament was administered under both kinds, the laity were to be reminded that Christ was present, wholly and entirely, under each species. The Bohemians were also to conform to the Church in other matters of dogma and discipline.

‡ Dr. Pastor devotes a whole chapter to the negotiations between George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, and Pius II. (vol. iii. p. 213 *seq.*).

Nicholas of Cusa, the other by Domenico de' Domenichi. Cusa's plan embraced the reform of the whole Church. It recommended the abolition of pluralities; the inquiry into the condition of hospitals and the fabric of churches; the strict enclosure of nuns; the suppression of fraudulent dealers in indulgences; the examination of the genuineness of relics and miracles. As for the Court of Rome, the Cardinal insisted that the Pope himself should be rebuked whenever he gave any cause of scandal; the Court was not to be an asylum for idle and roaming prelates, beneficiaries, and religious, or to furnish them with opportunities for suing for higher dignities and richer benefices; all its members must conform to the rules of the Church, in conduct, morals, dress, tonsure, and observance of the canonical hours. Domenichi was of opinion that the reformation should begin with the Pope and the Cardinals, then be extended to the Bishops, and ultimately to the other members of the Church.* Had either of these schemes been carried out, there can be no doubt that the scandalous dissensions which darkened the history of the Church during the next hundred years would have been avoided. Who was to blame that so little was done? In justice to Pius II., it should be remembered that his anxiety to band all Christendom together against the Turk—a most praiseworthy object surely—prevented him from giving attention to matters which, though of great importance, were not of such pressing urgency. Then again, the troubles in Italy, in France, and in Germany were not favourable for a project which at first would have caused still further opposition to the Holy See. Those who clamoured most loudly for reform were the very persons whose own conduct stood most in need of it, and who would have been the first to resist any attempt to enforce it. The Pope's life was admitted to be beyond reproach. His promotion of his nephews and his beloved Sieneſe is not altogether defensible; but he had some excuse, seeing that he had determined foes and few friends in the Apostolic College. The licentious Rodrigo Borgia and other worldly cardinals and courtiers were often sharply rebuked by him. He took some steps to put a stop to the extortionate demands of the Roman

* His recommendations will be found in *Pastor*, vol. iii. p. 273 *seq.*

penitentiaries; he favoured the stricter Benedictine congregations, and also the Franciscan Observantines; he forbade the baptism of Jews under twelve years of age, against the will of their relations, and also the practice of compelling the Jews to work on Saturdays. By the canonisation of St. Catherine of Siena he was enabled to pay a deep debt of gratitude which the Holy See had incurred towards that glory of her sex, and at the same time to gratify his patriotic feelings: "To a Sienese," as he said, "has been granted the happy privilege of proclaiming the sanctity of a daughter of Siena." And, as all travellers know, that ancient city and the neighbouring Pienza are still full of memories of Pius II. and the Piccolomini. The mighty projects of Nicholas V. for the adornment of Rome had no attraction for him, nevertheless the roof of St. Peter's, the Lateran, Sta. Maria Maggiore, S. Stefano, Sta. Maria Rotunde (Pantheon), the Capitol, many of the bridges, and also the city walls were repaired by him. His well-known epigram expresses his veneration for the Eternal City and his indignation against those who would degrade it into a quarry:

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas:
 Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet,
 Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis
 Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.
 Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos
 Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.*

The triumphant advance of the Turks roused the Pontiff to make a final effort to stir up a fresh crusade. The Neapolitan question was at rest for the time; Malatesta had been overthrown; and at last the Venetians had been roused by the insults and injuries which they suffered at the hands of the infidels. A fresh Congress was held at Rome (September 1463), which promised to be more successful than the abortive assembly of Mantua. The Pope's address and his subsequent Bull of Crusade cannot be read, even at this distance of time, without causing in us a glow of enthusiasm for the Holy War. He announced his intention, though against the advice of his physicians, of himself setting out with the expedition.

* The original is not given by Dr. Pastor. The English translators can hardly be complimented on their version of it.

Our cry, Go forth ! has resounded in vain. Perhaps, if the word is, Come with me ! it will have more effect It may be that seeing their Teacher and Father, the Bishop of Rome, the Vicar of Christ, a weak and sickly old man, going to the war, the Christian Princes will be ashamed to stay at home We are well aware that at our age we are going to an almost certain death. But let us leave all to God, His holy will be done ! We are too weak, indeed, to fight sword in hand, and this is not the priest's office. We will do as Moses did, who prayed upon a height while the people of Israel were doing battle with the Amalekites below.

This noble resolve did not produce the expected result. The envoys put all sorts of obstacles in the way of any concerted action. Some success was gained by the Hungarians under Matthias Corvinus, but the Venetians met with nothing but reverses in the Peloponnesus ; and the Duke of Burgundy, who had been one of the few princes to enter warmly into the Pope's plans, now failed to appear. Great opposition was raised, even in the Papal States, to the levying of contributions for the Crusade. The Cardinals, too, were openly opposed to the war. But all these difficulties, and all the bodily ailments from which he suffered, could not deter Pius from carrying out his heroic resolve. As he left the city (June 18th, 1464) he exclaimed with emotion : " Farewell, Rome ! never will you see me again alive." At Ancona, the port of assembly, he found that hardly anything was ready ; the Crusaders who had already arrived being without leaders, arms, or money. Then the excessive heat brought on a pestilence. At last, on August 12th, the approach of the Venetian fleet was announced. But it was now too late, for the broken-hearted Pontiff was sinking fast. He had himself carried to the window of his bed-chamber, and, as he gazed on the ships coming in, " Alas !" he said, " hitherto the fleet has been wanting to me ; and now I must be wanting to the fleet." Next morning he received the Holy Viaticum, and the day following he delivered a farewell address to the Cardinals. He then begged his friend, Ammanati, to bring him once more the Blessed Sacrament on the Feast of Our Lady's Assumption ; but that same night, the eve of the feast, he peacefully passed away (August 14th, 1464).

With all his faults, and they were great and many, there is an undoubted charm about the story of Æneas Sylvius

Piccolomini. His autobiography and his letters, written in choice Latin, have laid bare for us with singular frankness the very recesses of his soul. It is from himself that we learn of his pagan scepticism, his shameless profligacy, his unbounded ambition, as well as of his repentance and his altered life. One vice, at any rate, cannot be laid to his charge—he was no hypocrite; and this, perhaps, more than anything else, makes us less severe in our judgment of him. And what a lesson is his career as Pope! Taken away from his beloved literary labours, a burden cast upon him which he was unfitted to bear, spending and being spent in the vain attempt to unite Christendom against the Turk, dying prematurely with the thought that he had failed in the one object for which he had sacrificed all else.—*Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas.*

The next pontificate need not detain us long. Cardinal Barbo, a Venetian, a nephew of Eugenius IV., who had been nearly elected at the last Conclave, was now chosen Pope, and took the title of Paul II. (August 30th, 1464). The new Pontiff was a tall, well-made, handsome man; his bearing was dignified yet affable; in character he was generous and amiable. His love of splendour has been praised and blamed by different writers. His own defence of it was that the Pope ought to appear in a style befitting the highest dignity on earth, though his private life was exceedingly simple. He soon gave proof of his determination by setting aside the Election Capitulation, which would have reduced him, he said, to the position of a mere Doge. By his dismissal of certain Humanists from the Roman Chancery he incurred the fiercest hostility of the partisans of the Renaissance. Platina, who distinguished himself by his insolent conduct, and who was in return treated with much severity, afterwards revenged himself by writing a bitter and prejudiced life of Paul. A society of heathen-minded Humanists, under the presidency of the celebrated Pomponius Laetus, went so far as to enter into a conspiracy against the life of the Pope. As we are largely indebted to these scholars for our knowledge of the history of his pontificate, we are not surprised to find that he is usually depicted in a very unfavourable light. Still, the fact that they have been unable to accuse him of any serious faults has eventually told in his favour. Modern historians have

been enabled, by investigation of various archives, to give us a true portrait of the Pontiff. He was no opponent of the Renaissance in itself, nor, on the other hand, was he a Humanist of the style of Nicholas V.; he was simply a practical man of business who had little sympathy for mere scholarship. His collection of gems and antiquities, however, was one of the finest in the world; and his love of the architecture of the Renaissance has a lasting monument in the magnificent Palazzo di Venezia. As regards the work of reform, he began, like so many other Pontiffs, with the best intentions, but soon became discouraged by the difficulty of the task. His appointments to the Sacred College were, on the whole, excellent, though they included three of his nephews.* The troubles with the various Italian States, with France, and with Germany, which had disturbed the preceding pontificate, continued throughout Paul's reign. The pilgrimage of the Emperor Frederick III. to Rome, and his marked deference to the Pope, did much, however, to raise once more the fallen prestige of the Holy See.† Skanderbeg, the heroic king of Albania, also visited Rome (1466), and was generously entertained by Paul, who also gave him large sums of money to help him in his wars against the Turks. Though he continued as long as he lived to inflict defeats on the infidels, their progress in other quarters was unchecked. Mahomet II. had turned his attention to obtaining the command of the sea. The magnificent island of Eubœa (Negropont) fell into his hands in 1470, and now the whole coasts of the Adriatic seemed at his mercy. Once more a Congress assembled in Rome. The immediate nature of the danger induced the rival Italian States to conclude a general defensive alliance. At the same time efforts were made by the Pope to stir up the Sultan's enemies in the far east, but in the midst of the negotiations Paul II. was stricken down by apoplexy (July 26th, 1471).

Sixtus IV., who succeeded, was a man who might have been expected to render great service to the Church in the

* Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, received the hat in 1467. To please Louis XI., Jean de la Balue, bishop of Evreux, was nominated at the same time. "I know the faults of this priest," the Pope is reported to have said, "but I was constrained to cover them with this hat."

† Pastor, vol. iv. p. 160 *seq.*

hour of her need. A member of the Order of St. Francis, distinguished as a professor of philosophy and theology, and an eloquent preacher, he had been elected General of his Order in 1464 and had received the cardinal's hat in 1467.

A portrait from the hand of his Court painter, Melozzo da Forlì, which is still preserved, represents the new Pope as a man of middle stature, and strong, compact frame. The features are regular, the nose and forehead forming an oblique line, with a gentle curve between them. The powerful head impresses us with an idea of uncommon energy and force, which difficulties could not daunt ; while the lines on the brow bear witness to a life of hard, unrelenting toil.*

What he would have done had he followed his own bent can only be a matter of conjecture ; for he at once carried nepotism to an excess hitherto unknown in the annals of the Church. As we study the story of the period treated of by Dr. Pastor, we cannot fail to be struck with the prevalence of this bane. Thus, Eugenius IV. was nephew of Gregory XII., and his nephew became Paul II. ; Alexander VI. was nephew of Calixtus III., Pius III. nephew of Pius II., and Julius II. nephew of Sixtus IV. No attempt will here be made to defend the practice, though it gave to the Church a S. Carlo Borromeo as well as a Rodrigo Borgia. We must, however, bear in mind that there were certain circumstances of the times which might be pleaded in extenuation. A Pope often owed his election less to the favour of the majority than to a compromise among several rivals. He found himself opposed at every turn by the existing members of the Sacred College, while secular princes demanded the hat for men who were avowedly hostile to his policy. What wonder if he took steps to secure a new majority on whom he could rely ? And where could he better find these than among his own relatives ? Even the ardent reformer, Domenico de' Domenichi, had admitted the lawfulness of the practice. But he had insisted that good men of mature age should be chosen, and unhappily this condition was often neglected. When Sixtus IV. became Pope he had fifteen nephews and grandnephews. Six of these, while quite young and undistinguished (one only seventeen years of age), were named cardinals and were loaded with the richest

* Pastor, iv. 209.

benefices; four others were married into princely families and received the highest secular posts. The most famous of the young clerics were Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario, both of the Order of St. Francis. The former, who afterwards became Julius II., was made Archbishop of Avignon and of Bologna, Bishop of Lausanne, Coutances, Viviers, Monde, and finally of Ostia and Velletri, and Abbot of Nonantola and Grottaferrata. His moral character was not without blemish, but, as the times went, he was a fairly respectable prelate, if rather worldly. Far different was his cousin Pietro. A wit, a lover of good cheer, and splendour, and worse, a man of boundless ambition, he was utterly unfit for any ecclesiastical office. Yet he was made Archbishop of Florence (lately held by St. Antoninus), Patriarch of Constantinople, Abbot of S. Ambrogio, and bishop of numerous dioceses. In spite of his open profligacy he enjoyed the favour of the Pope more than any of the other nephews, so that it was even reported that Sixtus thought of resigning in his favour! But his scandals and ambitious projects were cut short by a penitent death (January 5, 1474), when he was only in his eight-and-twentieth year. His brother Girolamo, who was married to the natural daughter of Sforza, Duke of Milan, succeeded in the Pope's good graces and soon involved him in questionable designs.

The security of the Papal States depended mainly on the preservation of the balance of power among the Italian princes. It was during this pontificate that the policy was inaugurated which, under succeeding Popes, and notably under Julius II., led to the consolidation of the Temporal Power of the Holy See. We cannot here follow all the tangled maze of Italian diplomacy.* But there is one incident which cannot be passed over in any account of Sixtus' reign. After the assassination of Sforza (1476), Lorenzo de' Medici began to take the lead among the States of the north of Rome. He had been on such good terms with the Pope that the finances of the Holy See had been entrusted to his care and he had farmed the customs of Rome and the rich

* Dr. Pastor devotes no less than five chapters (v., vi., vii., ix., and x.) to this subject; yet a Protestant critic (*Guardian*, July 10) complains that he has not laid sufficient stress on it.

alum works at Tolfa. The cause of the rupture between him and Sixtus is somewhat involved in obscurity, but there is ample evidence of hostility on Lorenzo's part,* and it must be confessed that the Pope was far from conciliatory, especially in forcing Salviati into the see of Pisa against the will of the Florentines. The baneful influence of Girolamo, egged on by his wife, had much to do with the growth of ill-feeling between them. In 1478 the relations became so strained that the overthrow of the Medici appeared to be the only means of securing the Temporal Power. So strong, however, was Lorenzo's position that his enemies did not dare to attack him openly. On the other hand, the Pope would not lend himself to any plot to inflict upon him the same fate as had befallen Sforza. This difficulty was not insurmountable to villains' like Girolamo and Salviati. They induced him to consent to an armed insurrection against the Medici, while privately they planned the assassination of Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano. The visit of young Cardinal Rafaelo to Florence offered an occasion for the accomplishment of their design. Lorenzo invited a brilliant company to a banquet in honour of his guest. Giuliano, who was to have been present, excused himself on the plea of ill-health, but promised to attend the High Mass in the Duomo. This change in the arrangements caused some disunion among the conspirators. The deed, if done at all, must now be executed in church on Sunday at the solemn hour of Mass. From such an infamy even a desperado like Montesecco, who had agreed to kill Lorenzo, shrank. His place, however, was taken by two clerics. The Cardinal, accompanied by Lorenzo and Giuliano Medici and a splendid array of clergy and nobles, entered the Duomo and the service began. Suddenly, one of the conspirators rushed at Giuliano and plunged his dagger into his side. The wounded man defended himself vigorously until Francesco de' Pazzi stabbed him to death. Meanwhile, Lorenzo had also been attacked, but being only slightly wounded had escaped into the sacristy. Outside the Cathedral Salviati's attempt to seize the Seignorial Palace and Jacopo de' Pazzi's appeal to insurrection utterly failed. The

* Pastor, vol. iv. p. 292 *seq.*

enraged populace fell upon the conspirators and slaughtered them all without mercy. Some days later Montesecco, too, was seized and beheaded.* The failure of this abominable plot enormously strengthened the hands of Lorenzo, who henceforth rose to absolute power in Florence. On the other hand, the Pope, who had allowed his honoured name and office to be associated with it, suffered a corresponding loss of prestige. Yet he did not abate in any way his opposition to the Medici. While regretting the sacrilegious and murderous acts of the conspirators, he insisted on satisfaction from the Florentines for their repeated violation of ecclesiastical immunities and detention of Cardinal Rafaele, and finally excommunicated Lorenzo and his adherents, and laid Florence under an Interdict. The struggle continued for more than two years longer, when at length peace was suddenly concluded, for the terrible news was brought that the Turks had landed in Italy and captured Otranto.

We have seen how the great sultan Mahomet II. had obtained the command of the sea and threatened the western shores of the Adriatic. The alliance entered into between the Holy See and Venice and Naples warded off his attacks for a time. A great Christian fleet even sailed to Asia Minor and seized the wealthy city of Smyrna (1472); but dissension among the leaders threw away the advantage of this success. In 1475 Mahomet gained possession of the rich Genoese colony of Caffa in the Crimea, and, profiting by the feuds between the Pope and the Medici, largely increased his dominions in Europe. The island of Rhodes, the last bulwark of Eastern Christendom, was vigorously attacked in 1480, but the heroic defence of the Knights of St. John withstood all the Sultan's efforts. This check was counterbalanced by the success of his fleet in the West. Italy, the seat of the Papacy, the arch enemy of Islam, had always been the desired goal of each conquering sultan. With Venice and Naples at variance, with the Pope in conflict with the powerful Medici, the conquest of the peninsula did not seem a formidable task. A landing was effected in Apulia; Otranto was taken and its inhabitants

* Before his execution he confessed his own guilt, but expressly exonerated Sixtus from all complicity in the plot to assassinate the brothers (see Pastor, vol. iv. p. 303 *seq.*).

were subjected to unexampled barbarities. All Italy was stricken with consternation as the awful tidings got abroad. The Pope, who had made preparations for his flight to Avignon, sent round imploring appeals to the Italian princes to put an end to their disputes and to unite to drive out the infidel. Once again a conference was held in Rome. No help was forthcoming from distracted Germany; Edward IV. of England declared that he could do nothing; the King of France demanded to be secured from an English attack before he would contribute to the war against the Turks. The Italians, however, who were more directly menaced, entered into the crusade with great vigour, Sixtus setting a striking example by sending his plate and sacred vessels to be coined down to meet the expenses of the expedition. While all Italy was engaged in anxious preparations, it was rumoured that the dread enemy of Christendom was no more. The news of Mahomet's death seemed too good to be true, but as soon as it was confirmed beyond any doubt, the inhabitants of the threatened provinces gave way to unrestrained joy, the Pope himself taking part in the processions of thanksgiving. Though some of the allies thought that all danger was now at an end, the majority felt that the time had come for striking a favourable blow. A great fleet set sail for Otranto. The Turks held out with their usual obstinate valour, but at length (September 10th) the city was once more in the hands of the Christians. With the passing of the danger all unity ceased between the allies. Sixtus endeavoured in vain to keep his own fleet together. Unseemly disputes about the division of the booty and about arrears of pay demoralised his men, and the outbreak of the plague completed their disruption.

In the midst of his conflict with Florence, Sixtus joined with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in establishing the Spanish Inquisition (November 1st, 1478). He soon found occasion, however, to remonstrate with those sovereigns for their severity and their attempt to turn a spiritual court into a political institution.

As it is mercy alone [he wrote] that makes us like to God, we beg and exhort the King and the Queen, for the love of Jesus Christ, to imitate Him, whose property it is always to have mercy and to spare. Let them

have compassion on their subjects in the city and diocese of Seville, who are sensible of their errors and ask pardon.

Still, it must be borne in mind that he himself had established the Inquisition, and that he condemned only the abuse of it. Attempts to clear him of his responsibility and to consider it as a merely State institution, cannot be justified by the facts of the case.*

In the matter of reform, the most crying need of the Church, Sixtus did next to nothing. A Bull was drawn up at his command containing provisions for the amendment of his Court. Unhappily, it was never published, for the majority of the Cardinals were strongly opposed to measures which would necessarily be directed against their own unworthy conduct. The political complications in which the Pope became entangled through his infatuation for his nephews led even to fresh abuses. He added to the crowds of venal officials; he strained to the utmost his rights of taxation; he diverted the revenues of the Roman University; yet his Treasury was

* Dr. Pastor has an admirable note on this subject (vol. iv. p. 404), which shall be quoted in full as an example of his honesty and learning. "The view which regarded the Spanish Inquisition as a purely State institution was popularised in France by De Maistre ('Lettre à un gentilhomme Russe sur l'Inquisition Espagnole,' 11-12, Lyon, 1837), and in Germany by Ranke (Fürsten und Völker, i. 241 seq., Hamburg, 1827; and with slight alterations also in the fourth edition of 1877, p. 195 seq.). It has been recently put forward on the Catholic side by three other historians: Gams ('Zur Geschichte der Span. Staatsinquisition,' Regensburg, 1878); Hergenröther ('Kirchengesch.,' ii. 765, 3rd ed., and 'Staat und Kirche,' p. 607 seq.); and Knöpfler (Rohrbacher's 'Kirchengesch.,' 68 f., and 'Hist. polit. Bl.,' xc. 325 seq., and xci. 135 seq.). In favour of the opinion we have adopted above, may be cited the old theologians of the Inquisition, such as Paramo and Carena, who must have been accurately acquainted with the matter; and, among modern writers, Balmez ('Protest. und Kath.,' ii. 177, Regensburg, 1845); Prat ('Histoire du P. Ribadeneira,' 347 seq., Paris, 1862); Orti y Lara ('La Inquisicion,' Madrid, 1877); Rodrigo, Grisar (see 'Innsbr. Zeitschr. für Kath. Theologie,' 1879, p. 548 seq.); Bauer (*loc. cit.*, 1881, p. 742 seq.); F. X. Kraus ('Alzog's Kirchengesch.,' ii. 106, N. 3, 10th ed.); Funk ('Lit. Rundschau,' 1880, p. 77 seq., and 'Kirchengesch.,' 360); Brück ('Kirchengesch.,' p. 533, 4th ed., and 'Kirchenlexicon,' vi. 765 seq., 2nd ed.); and Julio Melgares Marin ('Procedimientos de la Inquisicion,' 2 vols., Madrid, 1886, i. 82 seq.). This last, who is keeper of the Archives at Alcala, speaks with full knowledge of their contents. On the Protestant side see 'Herzog,' vi. 740 seq., 2nd ed. (Benrath), and 'Allg. Ztg.,' 1878, p. 1122. Excessive regard for the authority of Ranke has prevented the general acceptance of the correct view of this question, and, in the case of Catholic publicists, it is hard to decide how far apologetic considerations may have weighed in their adoption of the theory of a State institution. Apologetic ends must not, however, be allowed to influence the historian, whose sole aim should be truth." And yet Dr. Pastor is accused of being an unscrupulous apologist of the Papacy!

always in difficulties through the squandering of his finances. On the other hand, it should be remembered that he was a munificent patron of literature and the arts; and if he did not entertain all the vast schemes of Nicholas V., he nevertheless has been surpassed by few Popes in what he accomplished for the adornment of Rome. S. Maria del Popolo, S. Maria della Pace, S. Pietro in Vincoli, and SS. Apostoli; these churches with all their exquisite early Renaissance architecture and carving were the work of Sixtus and his relatives. The Ponte Sisto which he constructed still bears witness to his name. And the traveller who journeys over the weary waste of the Campagna to Ostia and Grotta Ferrata will forgive something to the family which raised those two picturesque castles, which add such a charm to the view. But there is one other of Sixtus' works which far surpasses all of these. Franciscan as he was,* he was filled, in spite of all his faults, with a tender love of Mary Immaculate. In 1475 he approved of a special office of the Immaculate Conception for December 8th. He also drew up the oft-quoted Constitution which, without pronouncing any definite decision on the doctrine, laid down stringent rules regarding public attacks on it. It was in honour of this privilege of Our Lady that he built and adorned the noble chapel at the Vatican which still bears his name. The architect was the Florentine, Giovannino de' Dolci, while the artists were no other than Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, Signorelli, Roselli, Perugino, and Pinturicchio.

As we survey this sanctuary of Italian Renaissance we cannot fail to acknowledge that the choice of subjects for the frescoes could not have been better. To the chief scenes from the life of Moses on the one side correspond on the other those from the life of Our Lord, as the fulfilment of their typical signification. What Moses, the leader of the Chosen People, foreshadowed, has been perfected by Christ for all time. Peter, who lives in his successors here, reigns as the Vicar of Christ. Through him the human race is brought to the Saviour, as the Jewish nation, the type of Christendom, was led by Moses to the feet of Christ. The development of the whole plan of Salvation is concentrated in the three names: Moses, Christ, Peter. Thus the magnificent drama of the story of the Church is presented to the spectator as the Life and the Truth in the frescoes of this chapel, which in its historical aspect is the most remarkable in the world; and thus worthily was the building

* He canonised St. Bonaventure, April 14, 1482.

fitly inaugurated, which afterwards, under another Pope of the house of Rovere, was to be enriched with the marvellous productions of the giant genius of Michael Angelo.*

Meanwhile the Pope's evil genius, Girolamo Riario, had involved the Holy See in an alliance with Venice against Naples. At first the southern kingdom obtained some success, but the great battle of Campo Morto in the Pontine Marshes was a complete victory for the allies. The death of Malatesta, who had commanded their army, led to the retirement of the Venetians, and soon afterwards we find Sixtus making peace with Naples. Later on, we find him at war with Venice and laying that city under Interdict. Here again it is impossible for us to examine into the causes of these marked changes of policy. Dr. Pastor has gone into them with marvellous patience and skill, and with a fairness which cannot be denied. He lets us see that Girolamo's unprincipled ambition and Sixtus' weak compliance were chiefly to blame for much of the miserable dissension in the Italian States. By the middle of the year 1484 Girolamo had to own to his uncle that there was little hope of subduing their rivals. The Pope became greatly agitated at these tidings, especially as he was suffering at the time from fever and gout. Then came the news of the peace of Bagnolo (Aug. 7th), which was a veritable triumph for Venice. This was more than he could bear. The hand of death was already upon him, and during the night of the feast of St. Clare he breathed his last (Aug. 12th, 1484).

In surveying the period covered by the preceding volumes of Dr. Pastor's history we noted the vast change for the better which had taken place in the position of the Holy See during the Pontificates of Martin V., Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., and Calixtus III. No such progress, alas! can be recorded in the reigns of the succeeding Pontiffs. True, we hear no more of disputed elections, or of a council sitting in defiance of the Popes. Yet we cannot but feel that their authority has been undermined, and that their hold on Christendom, especially on Germany, has been weakened. The scandals in the Sacred College have brought discredit on the highest ecclesiastical offices;

* Pastor, vol. iv. p. 470.

instead of reforms, abuses have increased with astounding rapidity. In the time of Pius II. there were some signs of improvement; under Paul II. it was still possible; but Sixtus IV. destroyed all hopes, and henceforth there was nothing left but a revolution.

T. B. SCANNELL.

ART. V.—THE FALL OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE.

1. *La Règle du Temple.* Edited by M. HENRI DE CURZON. Paris. 1886.
2. *Le Procès de l'Ordre et des Frères du Temple.* Par M. LAVOCAT. Paris. 1888. Records in the Rolls.

THE Church has always been prolific in religious Orders suited to contemporary needs; and the old days when Europe tended naturally towards the Holy Land, when religion was the central thought, and when even worldlings moved perforce under its influence, brought forth in the regular course of events the military Orders. In their case, too, as in that of some other religious brotherhoods, it might be expected that they would drop out of existence as the necessity which called them into being died away. But the history of the Order of the Temple is unique. Its rapid increase, its glory and prosperity, its sudden downfall, form a cameo sharply cut out from the annals of the Middle Ages.

About the year 1098 a French and a Flemish knight who had followed Godefroy de Boulogne to the Holy Land devoted themselves to prayer, penance, and the protection of pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. The vocation of Hugues de Payens and Godefroy de Saint Omer supplied a need of the time. Companions joined them; they took monastic vows; and Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, together with the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre, gave them a habitation near the site of the ancient Temple, whence they began to be called "*pauperes commilitones Christi Templique Solomonici.*"

Gifts and bequests flowed in on the new Order; the chivalry of Europe flocked into its ranks. In 1127 Pope Honorius II. resolved to place the Knights Templars on a more regular footing in the Church. To this end, in 1128, he called a Council at Troyes, at which Hugues de Payens was

present, and over which Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, was commanded to preside.

The vocation of the Templars, with its union of prayer, mortification, and Christian valour, was peculiarly agreeable to the spirit of St. Bernard. He was heart and soul a Crusader, but a Crusader inspired by common-sense no less than by religious ardour. He wanted disciplined armies to send to the Holy Land, and not a helpless rabble; above all, armies vowed to the practice of the evangelical counsels. He welcomed the Templars as invaluable auxiliaries, and threw himself with zest into the work of forming their Rule.

There has been much disputation concerning this Rule of the Templars. The enemies of the Order in after times did not fail to make capital of alterations which were introduced by degrees, and which so modified the text edited by St. Bernard that in some particulars the "French Rule," as the later edition was called, contradicted the Latin Rule sanctioned by the Council of Troyes. But Pope Honorius and St. Bernard themselves intended that modifications should be made according to exigencies of time and place. The Rule even in its latest developments is Cistercian and Bernardine.

M. de Curzon, the learned editor of "*La Règle du Temple*," is of opinion that the Latin Rule, the original of which had been appended to the *procès-verbal* of the Council of Troyes, was several times revised, and that the French Rule is subsequent even to the latest revision of the Latin Rule.* It was customary to entrust copies of the whole Rule only to the great dignitaries of the Order; even the commanders of monasteries often possessed only abridgments. But whatever alterations were made in the Rule in course of time were well known to and approved by the Holy See, to which the Order was directly subject; nor did the Rule, so far as it concerned the daily life of the barrack-cloister, diverge to any notable extent from the lines laid down at Troyes. To its last day, as M. de Curzon remarks, it consisted of regulations which were entirely monastic, austere, and irreproachable.

The obligation of assisting daily at mass and Office, and of saying paternosters where the knight or brother was unable to

* Introduction.

read; * two Lents in the year, besides numerous other fasts; weekly chapter and discipline for faults; abundant almsgiving; charitable treatment of sick and aged brethren, in whose favour all fasts were relaxed; kindly care of animals; plainness of armour and caparisons, in distinction to the dandyism of the secular knights of that day—these form the salient features of the Rule. The white tunic and mantle, emblems of chastity, belonged to the knights; the serving-brothers wore brown or black; so, too, did the married brothers who in early days were affiliated to the Order.† All bore on their mantles the great red cross.

The Grand Master, the seneschal and marshal, were the highest superiors of the Order; below them ranked the commanders of provinces. But the Order was a kind of aristocratic republic; and the Grand Master had not even a casting vote in the great chapter.

Later, in 1173, Pope Alexander III. gave formal permission to the Order to enrol priests as chaplains, and exempted them from all episcopal authority. The brothers were exhorted to confess to their chaplains exclusively, "*car ils ont greignor pooir, de l'apostolle, d'eaus assoudre, que un arceuesque.*"‡

At the time of the Council of Troyes, the Order was spreading rapidly throughout the West. Hugues de Payens himself founded the first English home of the Templars, to the south of Holborn, on a spot where some excavations which were made about a hundred and sixty years ago revealed the remains of the round chapel in Caen stone. Towards the end of the twelfth century the magnificent buildings of the New Temple, complete with ranges of cloisters, barracks, and terraces, arose beside the Thames; and the Patriarch of Jerusalem himself, in the year 1185, consecrated the Church in honour of "Our Ladye Seynte Marie."

The Order was then in the first flush of its glory. The martial story of the Crusades fills up the annals of the twelfth century. At Gaza, Tyre, Acre, Ascalon, the Templars and

* Thirteen paternosters were added in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, patroness of the Order, "beginning and end of our religious profession."

† These did not reside in the "camps" with the regular brothers who had taken the vows.

‡ French rule.—"For they have greater power from the Pope to absolve them than an Archbishop."

the Hospitallers slew and were slain. Everywhere the Friars-preachers and Friars-minor quested for the soldier-monks; they were the *corps d'élite*, the chosen children of the Holy See. They would have been exterminated in war, but that the noble youth of Europe filled up their ranks. Their wealth was great, but they also gave great alms; and when the disastrous struggle with the power of the Soldans was diverted to Egypt, it was the Templars who paid the ransoms of St. Louis.

Owing to national jealousies all the bloodshed and treasure-shed bought but a barren glory. The Orders of the Temple and the Hospital, too, though the knights of each were bound to follow the other's gonfalon in battle if separated from their own, gave way to an *esprit de corps* which hindered their efficiency. When Acre fell in 1291 Europe was inclined to throw the blame on the military Orders. It was then that Pope Nicolas IV. called a Council at Salzburg, with a view to a fusion of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Teutonic Order.* The Templars, proud of their great past, opposed the project. This short-sighted policy rang the knell of that glorious brotherhood which for a century and a half had been the vanguard of the Christian armies.

In France at least the Order had numerous enemies: they were to be found among the new noblesse, whom Philip IV., to strengthen his own power, had selected out of the bourgeoisie, among the clever hungry jurists, and among the clergy, who envied its exemption from taxation. A cry began to be raised that the Temple had had its day, and had failed in its *raison d'être*. It was rich; throughout Europe it possessed nine thousand manors; its treasures were everywhere full; these riches would be better in other hands. The French world, from the king down to his newest *bourgeois gentilhomme*, suddenly became aware that the interests of religion required the ruin of the Order of the Temple.

There were in the institution itself certain peculiarities of which an enemy would not be slow to take hold. The reservation of the Rule in its entirety to high dignitaries of the Order suggested the existence of a secret body of doctrine and

* A similar fusion had been advocated by St. Louis of France, and by Pope Gregory X.

of laws. It was a fact that externs were seldom present at the reception of new subjects into the proud and exclusive Order, and hence arose suspicions as to the mode of initiation. The assertion, very generally made, that the chapters were generally held by night was not borne out by evidence on the various trials, but it was none the less commonly maintained.

From secrecy it seemed easy to argue Gnosticism. Europe had for two or three centuries been more or less invaded by a horrible mysticism imported from the East. Heresies as to the divine and human natures of Our Lord had been followed by the worship of Baphomet and the Ogdoode, the cultus of the black cat, and the various devilries of Manicheans, Cathiarists, and Albigenes. In those days it was a favourite vituperation, from which the highest authorities of the Church did not always escape, to charge an obnoxious person or community with some of these practices and beliefs. That charge was now brought against the Templars. It was a new and a strange weapon with which to attack the consecrated chivalry which had always been especially favoured by the Holy See. True, the novitiate exacted by the primary Rule had fallen into disuse, and so had the law which forbade the readmission, after penance and absolution, of excommunicated deserters; yet until this time (about the year 1306) there had been no outcry as to widespread corruption in the Order. Also, the outcry was confined to France.

King Philip IV., or Le Bel, was always in such extreme need of money that he had already thought fit to be scandalised by the impiety of the Lombards and Jews, the seizure of whose property was the natural outcome of his fervour. The Templars were a greater prey. But Philip was accustomed to contend with great antagonists. He was now just issuing from his deadly struggle with Pope Boniface VIII. A Pontiff of dauntless courage, Boniface had opposed Philip's invasion of ecclesiastical rights, and in consequence became the object of monstrous calumnies, some of them identical with the very accusations which Philip afterwards levelled at the Templars. The king, being excommunicated, appealed to a future General Council, and commanded all the ecclesiastics in his dominions to second the appeal. The Cistercians, and others who refused, were thrown into prison. But the French Templars,

for once rather national than Catholic, adhered to the appeal.

To students of Church history, it is not surprising to find that this act of complaisance to the civil power was speedily followed by the ruin of the knights at the hands of that very power. Vain was the hope of compromise with a king greedy of the possessions of his subjects.

There was this difference between Henry VIII. of England when he suppressed the monasteries, and Philip IV. in his persecution of the Templars. Henry acted in defiance of the Popes; Philip coerced a Pope into becoming in part his instrument.

The irony of time has brought forward a historian of Philip's own nation to paint in fiery colours his turpitude and savagery. M. Lavocat's work, though not altogether discriminating, is more valuable than the pages of Sismondi, in that he writes from a Catholic point of view. No doubt his standpoint is too exclusively French. The author almost seems to forget the fact that the Templars were an international and sovereign Order, not more French than they were Spanish, English, or German; he touches but slightly, for instance, on their great power and influence in Aragon and Castile, and even carries his Gallicism so far as to reproach them with refusing to unite with the Hospitallers because the fused Orders "could have created a vast maritime empire in the Levant and in Greece . . . and opened to France an immense commercial and political future" (p. 49). By so French a writer the guilt of France in the persecution of the Templars is all the more strikingly brought out.

The high-spirited Boniface VIII. was dead. His successor, Benedict XI., relieved Philip from the excommunication; but his reign was short, and Philip made every effort to secure a successor who should be altogether at his disposal. He knew that Bertrand le Gotte, Archbishop of Bordeaux, aimed at the Papal throne; he promised him his support on certain conditions. One of these was the revocation of all Bulls and acts of Boniface, another was probably the destruction of the Order of the Temple, "the right arm of the Papacy."

Bertrand won his election; but his heart was transformed with his dignity when he became Clement V. He saw the

impossibility of condemning his predecessor's memory, declaring him guilty of heresy, and burning his bones, according to Philip's outrageous demands. He would willingly, too, have saved the Knights Templars. There was at his ear a traitor who, though for years he had been a *cameriere* and a personage of confidence at the Papal Court, had never yet thought fit to make known the abuses which he now declared to exist in the Order. This was Cardinal Cantilupo, one of the only two Templars living in whose favour the Rule had been relaxed, which forbade the admission of children into the Temple; he had been received at the age of ten, on account of his high rank. From him emanated the denunciations of which Clement, in his subsequent Bulls, spoke as having been addressed personally himself; and which were supported by "the king, dukes, counts, barons, and commonalty of France." But Clement cannot have credited these charges, because he was always of opinion that a General Council would find the Templars innocent; and even now he advocated a fusion between the Temple and the Hospital, a thing assuredly not to be thought of if one of these Orders was stained with heresy and crime. To this end he summoned the two Grand Masters before him at Poitiers. Foulques de Vilaret was detained before Rhodes; but Jacques de Molay, who had succeeded Bellogisco, slain at Acre, as Grand Master of the Temple, journeyed from Cyprus at Clement's bidding, all unknowing of the "direful doom" which awaited him in France. The Pope and king received him honourably; but de Molay, brave, blunt, undiplomatic, unlettered, devoted to what he conceived to be the interests of his Order, was strongly opposed to the project of fusion. His conduct made no difference to his fate or the fate of the Temple. A fusion was the last thing desired by Philip, who had already (September 14, 1307) sent out *lettres de cachet* to the governors and crown officers throughout France, commanding the arrest of the Templars, and the detention of their goods until further orders from himself.*

* M. Lavocat is right in saying that there were two distinct prosecutions, the one of the Order, the other of the persons of the brothers; a fact which has not been clear to some historians. The Pope alone could deal with the Order; the brothers could be prosecuted by the Sovereigns in whose dominions they resided at the time.

The Grand Master was ignorant of this step when he followed Philip to Paris, where, on the 26th of October, both assisted in state at the funeral of Catherine Courtenay, wife of Philip's brother. On the following day the great blow fell. De Molay and 140 brothers were suddenly arrested and dragged to prison; the king took possession of the Temple, and by uniting his own treasure with the treasure of the Order made the two inextricably one.

On the horrors that followed it is only necessary to dwell so far as to show by what kind of legal process the guilt of the Templars was proved. Without authorisation from Clement V., torture was freely employed by the inquisitors and the officers of the Crown. The evidence said to have been extracted by this means is hardly worthy of notice; first, because torture can never serve the cause of truth; and secondly, because even the depositions taken in the torture-chambers are of doubtful authenticity. It is well known that the French jurists were always able to prove what the king desired. Most of the knights were unlettered, and unable to follow the Latin *procès-verbal*; nearly all who were said to have confessed either retracted their confessions, or denied that they had ever made them. In order, therefore, to weigh the indictment of the Templars, I purpose to dwell chiefly on the inquiry held in England, which, though by no means without its harsh and arbitrary features, was yet fair and mild compared to the trial in France.

From the first Philip IV. was fiercely anxious to see his lead followed by other sovereigns, and especially by Edward II. of England, his vassal for Guienne and future son-in-law. Clement V. had not as yet sent out the Bulls in which he commanded an international trial of the Order of the Temple, when Philip sent to London as his special agent the inquisitor Peleti, who had already distinguished himself in France by his merciless treatment of the Templars. But Philip's plans met with a temporary check. The sympathies of Edward, his prelates, barons, and people, were with the Knights Templars. Herr Schottmüller supposes that Edward was at this time (November 1307) still under the influence of the wise counselors of his predecessor. He wrote to Philip, saying that he found it impossible to believe the knights guilty of the heresies and

crimes described by Master Peleti; nay, more, he sent letters to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, and Sicily, expressing his opinion that it was most unseemly to condemn the Order of the Temple, "which had always been renowned for piety and virtue, had fought for God and the Church, and was known to be a stronghold of the Catholic Faith." He interceded for the Order with the Pope himself, whom he besought to protect the brothers "against illegal proceedings, dictated by envy and malice."

Yet, in the following year, Edward entirely withdrew his protection from the Templars. The learned author of the "*Proces der Tempelherren*" attributes this change to the levity of Edward's character, to an awakening appetite for possible spoils, and to favours accorded to him at this time by Clement V. He could hardly have refused to institute an inquiry at the instance of the Pope, whose Bull "*Pastoralis preminentie*" reached England early in 1308-9; and Archbishop Robert Winchelsey, whom Schottmüller describes as purposely detained at the Papal Court, made no difficulty about sending instructions to his suffragans to preside at the proceedings in the Southern Province. But the blow fell suddenly on the Templars in England. On September 14 orders were sent to the sheriffs to arrest them in all parts, and deliver them over to the custody of the constables of the Tower of London, and of the castles of York and Lincoln. As the Tower would not hold all the prisoners, the "four gates of the City" were requisitioned of the Mayor and Corporation, as also "the houses lately occupied by the Penitent Friars."*

The Pope sent over as his commissioners at the London trial, the Abbot of Lugny, and de Vaux, a canon of Narbonne, who, together with Ralph, Bishop of London, opened the inquiry in the chapter house of Whitefriars, in November 1309. The principal heads of the indictment, as contained in the Papal Bull, were as follows: That the brethren at their reception were asked to deny Christ and to spit on the Cross. That some of them held Christ to have been a false Prophet. That they did not believe in the Holy Eucharist nor in the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints.

* Close Rolls, Edward II.

That in some provinces they adored an idol head, twofold or threefold, and wore round their waists cords which had touched this idol. That they adored a cat. That they swore to advance the Order *per fas aut nefas*. That they practised various immoralities. That they believed in the power of the Grand Master and commanders, although laymen, to absolve them from sin. That their priests omitted the words of consecration in the Mass.

The first article of examination was that touching reception, and the evidence of the brothers all went to show that this was carried out in accordance with the simple and devout form prescribed in the Rule. Henry de Tadcaster, received at Flaxflete, deposed that a number of the brothers were present at his reception, but no seculars, as custom did not allow of their admission on such occasions. He had sworn on the Gospels, *i.e.*, a page of the Gospels on which the Crucifixion was represented,* to observe poverty, chastity, and obedience, never to do an injustice, nor to kill any one except in war or in self-defence, after which he received the white mantle and the helmet. "There is no other way of receiving brothers into the said Order," the witness further deposed.†

In like manner Thomas Chamberleyne took his oath that there was only one mode of reception in all countries. He had first heard of the rumour of an impious rite of initiation about two years before. Asked whether he believed that any of the

* This form must have been substituted for the earlier one of swearing on the altar itself. The formula of profession was as follows:—"Vis abrenunciare sæculo?—Volo. Vis profiteri obedientiam secundum canonicum institutionem et secundum præceptum domini nostri Papæ?—Volo. Vis assumere tibi conversationem fratrum nostrorum?—Volo." (The psalm "Deus auxiliatur et benedicat nobis.")

"Ego regulam commilitonum Christi et milicie ejus Deo adjuvante servare volo, et promitto propter vitæ eternæ premium, ita ut ab hac die non mihi liceat collum excutere de jugo regulæ; et ut hæc petitio professionis firmiter teneatur, hanc conscriptam obedientiam in presentia fratrum in perpetuum trado, et manu mea sub altare pono, quod est consecratum in honore Dei omnipotentis et B. Mariæ et omnium Sanctorum, et dehinc promitto obedientiam Deo et huic domui, et sine proprio vivere, et castitatem tenere secundum præceptum dⁿⁱ papæ; et conversationem fratrum domus militiæ Christi firmiter tenere." (A vow to be always ready to succour the Holy Land was often added, and sometimes a vow never to dwell in a place of which a Christian had been unjustly disinherited, &c.) The white mantle and helmet were then bestowed on the new knight, and the commander gave him the "pax" on the lips.—"Règle," &c.

† Wilkins, "Concilia," vol. ii. p. 335.

brothers had spontaneously confessed to abuses in presence of the Pope and cardinals, he boldly answered "No."

Of the same tenor was the evidence of knight after knight, brother after brother. Sir William Raven made a slight diversion by deposing that about a hundred externs had been present at his reception at Templecombe in Somerset, at the hour of prime in the chapel. William de la More, Grand Commander of England, had received him. Raven himself could not read, but some of the lettered brothers read the Rule to him aloud. I am at a loss to know why the inquisitors enjoined the custodians of the knights, under pain of the greater excommunication, not to let Raven speak or consort with his brothers after this deposition.

Of great importance for the defence of the Order was the history of Robert le Scot, who "had entered the Order twenty-six years before, and afterwards left it through levity and remained in the world for two years." Then, coming to Rome, he confessed himself to the Pope's penitentiary, *by whose advice he returned to the Order of the Temple*, and after many prayers and much penance was readmitted at Nicosia, in Cyprus, by command of the Grand Master actually ruling (de Molay).

Clearly, then, the evil opinion conceived of the Order by the Holy See was of very recent date.

Futhermore: "W. Cumbroke, procurator of St. Clement Danes near the New Temple; Thomas, vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; Hamo, procurator of St. Bride's, and John Warwick, priest of St. Dunstan's," all neighbours, testified that they knew of nothing against the Templars.

Nevertheless, on the 4th of February, 1310, the Bishop of London and inquisitors, meeting at St. Martin's, Ludgate, brought out fourteen new articles, dealing with the alleged lay absolutions in chapter, denial of the Sacraments, and blind obedience to superiors, as well as with the charges of idolatry and immorality. Brother Ralph de Barton, chief chaplain of the Temple, was examined at great length, and denied all the charges. He took his oath that he always said the words of consecration in the Mass, and was convinced that the other priests did the same, and that all the brothers believed in the Holy Eucharist. He had never heard of the

adoration of a cat or of idols; and the absurdity of this count was brought out by the inquiry whether it was true that the brothers swore *on the Sacrament* to conceal their idolatrous practices. Examined about the little cords worn by the Templars, Barton answered that they were given to the brothers after their reception as a token of chastity, and had nothing to do with idolatry. One point alone of this priest-Templar's evidence was unsatisfactory: it concerned the death of Sir Walter de Bachelier, late commander in Ireland, who had been accused of making away with the property of the Order, and who died in the penitential cell of the Temple Church, as it would appear, of the rigours of his imprisonment.

About this time an order was sent to Crumbwell, constable of the Tower, to keep the Templars in fetters, and not to allow them to talk together. Later, in August, a further order followed to deliver the Templars to the inquisitors when required, and to permit the inquisitors, according to ecclesiastical law, to do what they would with the bodies of the said Templars.* One is at a loss to account for extra securities at this time, especially as the testimonies against the Templars were nearly all at second-hand. The witnesses had usually learned their facts from some one else, who was dead, or could not be found, or at least was not produced. Thus, Robert le Dorturier had heard that the Templars had acquired property unjustly at Isleworth; he had also heard of immoral practices, but only from "a man of Isleworth," who once stayed at his brother Adam's house. Adam le Dorturier himself being produced, could give no evidence against the Order. A friar minor related how

a veteran, who had left the Order of the Temple, told him that there were four principal idols in England: one in the sacristy in London, one at Bystelsham, one at Bruer, and one "beyond the Humber"; and that it was Brother de la More who had introduced this misery into England, and brought thither a large folio, in which were written out the nefarious idolatrous practices.

But the friar, being questioned as to the name of this veteran deserter, answered *that he understood that he had changed his name.*†

* Close Rolls, Edward II.

† Wilkins, "Concilia," vol. ii. p. 363.

Another testimony for the prosecution was that of a woman, named Agnes Lovehote, caretaker of a gentleman's house in the suburbs of London. This woman declared that she had contrived to conceal herself in one of the buildings of the Temple, and had witnessed a midnight assembly of the Templars, when they worshipped with infernal rites a black image with brilliant eyes. Hers is just the sort of hysterical declaration which some woman was sure to make at a time of public excitement.

So unsatisfactory was the evidence for the prosecution, that the alleged confessions of Sir Galfrid de Gonaville before the French Commissioners, in which he certified that he had been made to spit on the Cross at his reception, was sent over and laid before the English tribunal.*

Strangely enough, the only crime which was finally held to be proved by the English inquisitors was that of a wrong belief concerning the Sacrament of Penance. Sir William de la More was examined on this subject in June 1310, when he explained satisfactorily enough that the pardon given by lay superiors in chapter referred merely to faults against the Rule, and was given in the words "Quod rogaret Deum ut indulgeret ei, et nos remittimus vobis, et frater capellanus absolvet vos;" and he was borne out in this assertion by Barton and others of the Templars who were in Holy Orders. Nevertheless, it appears that some of the knights (and presumably many more of the serving-brothers) confounded this pardon with sacramental absolution, fancying, in the words of Brother Walter Clifton before the Bishop of St. Andrews, that "the Lord Pope had granted this power of old to the Grand Master." Singularly enough, of all the charges adduced, this strange error was the only one which the Bishop of London, who had watched the proceedings throughout, held to be positively proved.

Indeed, the inquisitors were in an awkward position. The Templars had sent a protest to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, in which they declared that they had always adhered to the Catholic Faith and to their monastic vows, and "denied and firmly contradicted, for all and for each, that

* Gonaville had been received in London.

they had fallen into any heresy or evil-doing."* The evidence, when sifted, certainly tends towards acquittal; if any doubt remained, the accused should have had the benefit. But the bishops were in some sort under the necessity of finding an open verdict. The Order was about to be destroyed; moreover, Edward II., always under somebody's domination, was now dragged in the wake of his strong and turbulent father-in-law. As a sort of compromise the Bishop of London demanded that the Templars should be reconciled and absolved under the following form:

Since thou dost confess thyself to have erred grievously concerning the Sacrament of Penance, and to have been accused in the Apostolic Bulls of heretical depravity which thou canst not disprove, and since thou askest the mercy of the Church, we absolve thee, &c.

A number of the brethren—how many we do not know†—assented to this form, and were reconciled at the western doors of St. Paul's and of "St. Marie Berking Church." They were then dispersed among different monasteries, where they led edifying lives; their maintenance being charged on their own forfeited manors.

One is sorry to have to add that the more heroic spirits, those who persisted in declaring that they could not abjure errors which they had never committed, were condemned to irons "in vilissimo carcere." Among them was the Grand Commander, William de la More. His captivity, however, was not of long duration; he died in the Tower early in 1313.‡

It has generally been taken for granted that the property of the Temple, at least in England, was made over to the Knights of St. John. But the records tell a different tale. Some, indeed, of the numerous manors were granted to the Hospital, but others remained in the king's hands and were bestowed by him on different nobles. The Earl of Pembroke, for instance, was grantee of all the property of the Order in London and

* The four knights especially deputed to defend the Order in France made a similar protest, full of the purest Catholic doctrine.

† Death would appear to have been busy among them, for at this time there were only eight in Aldgate, and none in the other gates and the extemporised prisons.

‡ His maintenance, like that of the other prisoners, had been charged on the manors.

the suburbs,* except the Temple itself, which was made over to the lawyers.

In Aragon, where the knights long defended themselves in their fortresses, in Castile, Portugal, and the Archbishopric of Mayence, the trial of the Order resulted in acquittal. Yet the Temple was doomed. Clement V., striving even now to save the Order and to protect the persons of the knights, was accused of being bribed; was told that "le Pape n'est pas infaillible en matière de foi;"† and that "he sinned through ignorance" in deferring the abolition of the Order of the Temple. In the meanwhile Philip IV. had abated nothing of his inhuman persecution. Several times new articles were brought forward against the Templars, each more outrageous, not to say impossible, than the last.‡ Strange forms of torment were used to extort confessions, and the Sacraments were refused to those who died in prison of their injuries and privations. In city and meadow, beside the silver Seine, amid the orchards of the Dombes and the vines of Champagne, arose the funeral pyres of the children of St. Bernard. At St. Germain fifty-six perished together by slow fire. They were offered their lives if they would plead guilty while the flames were yet about their feet, but the only answer of each and all was a protest of innocence. They died without a cry or groan, and the only shrieks heard were those of the mothers and sisters who had crowded round urging the victims to confess—Rizpahs who were yet unable to drive away the vultures.

The Grand Master had been brought several times before the three cardinals who acted as the Pope's commissioners, and had declared that he was there "to defend the Order which had raised him to so great honour." Yet an unexplained circumstance throws some mystery around the closing scenes of this brave soldier's death. He is represented in the *procès-verbal* as having pleaded guilty to the first indictment, that of the denial of Christ at receptions. Yet when his own confession was read to him at a subsequent appearance before Cardinals Defarge, Nouelli, and Fréauville, he started, made

* Close Rolls, Edward II.

† Pamphlets quoted by Lavocat.

‡ One of these was the same charge of roasting and eating infants which was brought by the Pagans against the early Christians.

the sign of the Cross several times, and roundly declared that there was treachery. The *procès* does not specify the ground of his protest; but Sismondi infers that de Molay's ignorance of Latin had been taken advantage of, and that he had never made the admissions that were written down in his name. This is a point which will probably never be cleared up, especially as de Molay, when brought before Pope Clement and the king, was strangely flurried and confused. It must be remembered that, though nominally under Clement's protection, the Grand Master was really Philip's prisoner. Who knows what were the dreadful secrets of the French prison-houses? M. Lavocat takes it for granted that de Molay had really pleaded guilty to this charge but had been too much agitated, when before the Pope, to put forward what the author regards as palliating circumstances; and it is true that on one of their interviews Clement remanded him as being temporarily *non compos mentis*. But when we consider Philip's extreme desire for the destruction of his victim, it seems not unfair to suggest that the stratagem of prison drugs may have reduced de Molay to this state. Certain it is that on March 18, 1313, when he had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment and had been produced on a scaffold at Paris, together with de Charnay, commander of Normandy, to hear the sentence publicly read, both prisoners denied or retracted their confessions. The Cardinal-commissioners thereupon remanded them till the morrow; but there was to be no morrow for the two knights. On that same day, "at the hour of vespers," de Molay and de Charnay were burned on the Ile des Griefs by Philip's command; and chroniclers agree in saying that they endured their last agony valiantly, protesting to the end their own innocence and that of the Order.

The people gathered up their ashes as the relics of martyrs. Indeed, it is impossible to believe that the Templars were unloved of the French populace. They were accused of avarice, but they continued to give large alms. In one day, during a recent scarcity in Normandy, the knights had fed over eleven thousand poor. Their enemies were of the great ones of the earth.

Already the Grand Master had survived the Order. In 1311 a council composed of three hundred bishops met at Vienne,

partly for the very purpose of trying the cause of the Temple, yet all the knights who presented themselves "for the defence of the Order" were thrown into prison unheard. On March 6, 1312, Clement V. solemnly suppressed the Order. But the very language of his proclamation bespoke him still unconvinced. He declared that

the confessions obtained, the offences divulged therein, the suspicions raised, above all the accusations brought against the Order by the prelates, dukes, counts, barons, and commonalty of France, had caused a scandal which could not be allayed while the Order continued to exist. Therefore he suppressed it by his sovereign power, and not by a definite sentence, which he could not lawfully pronounce after the inquisitions and proceedings recently held.

Philip IV. respected ecclesiastical law sufficiently to make over, nominally at least, the estates of the Temple to the Knights Hospitallers; but he taxed and mulcted them so heavily in the transfer that the Hospital found itself a good deal the poorer for its inheritance.

The ransacking of the treasuries and sacristies *ipso facto* disproved the charge of idol-worship, which was one of the most serious crimes imputed to the Templars. Neither in France nor in England had they had time to put their affairs in order before their arrest, yet in neither country was an idol of any sort discovered. The treasury of the Paris Temple did indeed reveal a silver gilt head, but it contained part of a female skull, supposed to be a relic of one of the virgins of Cologne. As to the ridiculous charge of the adoration of a cat, it was but a part of the general incrimination of the Templars as Gnostics. They could but deny it; such a charge was impossible to disprove. I am aware that it used to be said (and Hallam credited the assertion) that Gnostic symbols, including the *gattus niger*, were found in the churches of the Templars, and in other mediæval churches; but modern archæologists dispute the real meaning of the symbols in question. The imputations of immorality may be placed in one category with those brought against the monasteries of England by Henry VIII.; dictated by the same motive, based on no better ground, denied by all the brothers except a few renegades, certainly never proved.

With respect to the denial of Christ at receptions, most

assuredly it was not the general practice of the Order, whose motto was *Malo mori quam negare*, and who had confessed the name of Christ on so many foughten fields. But there is some reason to suppose that it was customary in certain commands, and at the whim of certain commanders, not because they held Our Lord to be a false prophet, nor because of a promise made to a Soldan by a captive Grand Master, according to Galfrid de Gonaville's apocryphal story; but as a test whereby the staunchness of the postulant might be tried.

Such is M. Lavocat's view; but it must be owned that he takes a good deal for granted out of the forced and manipulated confessions of the French torture-chambers. In England, as we have seen, the brethren testified to the reception being *bona ac honesta*, and alike in its ritual in all provinces of the Order. Thus the whole "proven" guilt of the Order is narrowed down to an error of individual brothers concerning the Sacrament of Penance; an error of ignorance which, as one might well think, might have been corrected without chains, prisons, and final degradation.

But the alternatives of innocence or guilt had in reality but little to do with the fate of the Order of the Temple. It had been prejudged, and the mighty fell in unexampled destruction. If it had sinned through pride; if jealousy of rivals had ever dimmed the glory of its deeds of valour in the Christian cause; and if the impersonal selfishness of a *corps d'élite* had in any degree hastened the loss of the Holy Land to Christendom, the Order atoned for all defects in that last fiery trial, and vanished from the world in one great martyrdom.

AMY GRANGE.

ART. VI.—THE RESTORATION OF THE HIER-
ARCHY AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL
TITLES BILL.

THE development and expansion of the Catholic Church in England during the present century is due to the action of many causes. Leaving out of consideration the continuous influx of Catholics from the sister Isle, there are three great historical events which have combined their forces to render possible and to forward the wonderful progress of the Church. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed the civil disabilities under which Catholics had laboured for three centuries. The Oxford Movement of the "forties" wrought a great change in public feeling towards doctrines and religious practices which had long fallen into disuse and disrepute, and at the same time strengthened the Catholic body by the influence and authority of a host of distinguished converts. The altered conditions so produced necessitated numerous administrative changes, especially the restoration of the ordinary form of Church government by bishops, of which the Catholics of England had been deprived since the days of Elizabeth. The logical outcome of the tolerance granted by the Bill of 1829, was that Catholics should be free to practice their religion and to employ all the means at their disposal for its expansion. But Rome, proverbially cautious, refrained from action until the growing necessities of the Church in England clearly demanded a reorganised system of administration, and until there was a fair prospect of the change being at least ignored, if not quietly accepted, by the Government of the day. It is with the history of the manner in which that restoration of Church government was effected, its reason and attendant circumstances, and one of its immediate results, that we propose to deal in the following article.

The first organised system of episcopal government for England was projected by Pope Gregory the Great, who directed St. Augustine to found two archiepiscopal sees, one at

London and the other at York, with twelve suffragans each. The scheme was carried out partly by St. Augustine and partly by Archbishop Theodore, though, after Paulinus, no archbishop sat in the See of York till, by a decree of Pope Gregory III., Bishop Egbert secured the pallium. From St. Augustine's time, bishops in communion with Rome continued to hold rule in England till the sixteenth century, when a breach occurred, which, repaired for a time under Queen Mary, was rendered permanent by Elizabeth's restoration of the Royal Supremacy. Henceforward the Catholics of England had no bishops in ordinary at their head. They were ruled by archpriests from 1598 till 1623. From 1623 till 1688 they were under the guidance of one Vicar-Apostolic. Then four Vicars-Apostolic were appointed to preside respectively over the London, Midland, Northern, and Western Districts.

I.

Constant attempts were made to obtain the constitution of these Vicars-Apostolic as bishops in ordinary, and this was one of the expressed objects in the foundation of the Catholic Committee in 1783. In 1838 the Vicars-Apostolic sent to Rome a body of resolutions—*Statuta Provisoria*—petitions for increased powers by which the Vicars might be raised to the state of Ordinaries; for the erection of Chapters to advise and elect the bishops; and for the appointment of vicars-general, missionary rectors, &c. As their name was meant to imply, the arrangements here suggested were only temporary in their nature and to act as a bridge to a future hierarchy. It was feared, however, that if the *Statuta* were adopted, the hierarchy would be indefinitely postponed. Accordingly, petitions for a hierarchy again flowed in, but nothing was done by Rome at the time except to increase the number of Vicars-Apostolic from four to eight.

But the movement for a hierarchy was now fairly afoot. Dr. Rock, the antiquarian, espoused it warmly. A priests' club, called "The Adelphie," was founded in London, and there the matter was discussed and urged, till it was at last taken up by the press in "The Catholic Magazine." In the spring of 1845, Bishop Griffiths proposed to the Vicars-Apostolic

a petition to Rome, begging that the Vicars-Apostolic might be changed into titular bishops, and also drew up, for the benefit of the authorities in Rome, a list of reasons for and against the measure. Two years later, in the April of 1847, a seven days' meeting of the bishops took place. It was an anxious council. Unfavourable representations of the English clergy had been made to Rome by Italian priests who did not understand the country; complaints and appeals against the Vicars-Apostolic were frequent. The position of the Vicars-Apostolic was thus one of great difficulty. Two of their number were therefore sent to Rome to explain matters and, at the same time, to feel their way towards a re-establishment of the hierarchy as the only effectual means of restoring good order. This brings us to what may be regarded as the first real negotiation for a restored hierarchy.

The need for such a measure was indeed pressing. The only code of government then possessed by English Catholics was a constitution issued in 1753 by Pope Benedict XIV., which was based on a state of affairs that was now passed away. It was grounded on the following considerations :

1. That English Catholics were under penal laws and enjoyed no liberty of conscience.
2. That their colleges were abroad.
3. That there were no religious houses in England.
4. That there were no congregational churches, but only private chapels served by the chaplains of noblemen, at which the faithful might attend.

In this way, what had been a direction was now obsolete, and instead of being a help, was rather an embarrassment and a clog. Besides, as we have already seen, the status of the Vicars-Apostolic was one of great difficulty and of little or no authority. They had no power to legislate for local wants in the light of local experience by corporate action. Furthermore, the clergy were aggrieved; they had no representative voice in the nomination of their bishops; they were without laws to regulate, on a satisfactory footing, the mutual relations of authority and obedience. Naturally, therefore, complaints and appeals to Rome were many and distressing. The laity, too, could not but feel the reproaches flung at them by their fellow-countrymen that a hierarchy dared not be given to

them, and that the Apostolic descent lay with the Protestant prelates.

On the other hand, the difficulties in the way of the re-establishment of hierarchy were considerable. There was the question of the maintenance of the bishops; the difficulty of finding suitable men from a limited clergy; the question of the local titles of the proposed bishops; the fear of clashing with the English law, and of rousing unnecessarily any bad feeling in England; and lastly, there were the objections put forward by those Catholics who opposed the measure.

Bishops Wiseman and Sharples arrived in Rome in July. There they immediately drew up a memorial of the work done in England during the last six years, to combat the accusations of want of zeal that had been made against the bishops. This was pronounced to be entirely satisfactory. Then, in conference with Mgr. Palma at Propaganda, it was determined that the time had come for a new constitution for the organisation of the Church in England, to supersede the out-of-date regulations of Benedict XIV. To this, however, Bishop Wiseman was opposed. After all, it could only result in a provisional arrangement which would be as troublesome as a restoration of the hierarchy. The Vicars-Apostolic at home supported Bishop Wiseman's contention; and Mgr. Barnabo, pro-secretary of Propaganda, on hearing of the difficulties, said: "You will always have these troubles and questions until you obtain a hierarchy. Ask for it, and I will support your petition."

A petition for the re-establishment of the hierarchy was accordingly drawn up, and presented to the Pope, Pius IX., who declared himself satisfied on the question. Objections, however, were raised, according to custom, in order that they might be met at the outset. Cardinal Acton had objected that a hierarchy would render Catholics in England less loyal to the Holy See. The two bishops triumphantly disposed of this by pointing out that the English were the only nation who had given martyrs, many and illustrious, for the rights and supremacy of the Holy See. Cardinal Castracane also brought forward the point that if Lingard's "*History of England*" were a true one, it was clear that "we had always been a nation inclined to withstand authority." His Eminence, how-

ever, agreed that, if the other Cardinals approved, he would waive his objection and vote with them.

But a delay now arose, owing to troubles in Italy, which sent Bishop Wiseman to England on a diplomatic mission to the Government. Then Bishop Griffiths died, and Bishop Wiseman was appointed pro-Vicar-Apostolic for the London district. In October, a letter was received by the bishops from Propaganda, asking for a joint scheme for the restoration of the hierarchy on the principle of redistribution of the eight vicariates into twelve dioceses. The Vicars-Apostolic met in London on the 11th of September, and drew up a plan which somehow or other never reached Rome. No more was heard until they again met in London in the May of 1848. They were overwhelmed with difficulties. Famine and fever were abroad in the land; the Northern and Midland vicariates were vacant; many able priests had fallen victims to the fever; and there were three troublesome cases of appeal by priests. Bishop Ullathorne was therefore sent to Rome, as the representative of his brother bishops, to hasten the settlement of the appeals, the filling up of the vacant vicariates, and the re-establishment of the hierarchy.

Dr. Ullathorne arrived in Rome on May 27th. The delay that had occurred was explained by Mgr. Barnabo as having arisen from the difficulty of settling the proper person for the office of archbishop. A congregation for the discussion and settlement of the hierarchy question had already been appointed, and was to assemble in June, provided a plan could be suggested for filling up the London and Midland Vicariates. Dr. Ullathorne therefore drew up two memorials: one suggesting that Bishop Walsh, preparatory to being made archbishop, should be transferred from the Midland district to London, with Bishop Wiseman as his coadjutor; the second proposing to meet the difficulties of episcopal maintenance and of finding suitable men from a small body of clergy, by filling up the existing vacancies, by changing the Vicars-Apostolic into titular bishops, and by leaving the new dioceses, formed by redistribution of the old vicariates, under the temporary administration of neighbouring bishops.

The Congregation of Cardinals met on the 26th of June. The two memorials enabled a favourable decision to be arrived

at, but further information was required upon the question of the titles, limits, &c., of the dioceses, the division of London, and a bishop for the Midland district. Bishop Ullathorne replied by four memorials. The first treated of the change of the Vicars-Apostolic into Ordinaries. The second recommended Dr. Hendren, a Franciscan, as bishop of the Western district, which had always been in the hands of the regular clergy. The third document drew out a suggested plan for the redistribution of the eight vicariates into twelve dioceses which was accepted and afterwards incorporated in the Letters Apostolic re-establishing the hierarchy. Lancashire was subsequently subdivided, thus raising the number of dioceses to thirteen. The fourth memorial discussed the question of the titles of the new sees; and recommended that the greater part of the titles should be taken from populous localities, where there were no existing Anglican titles, or where some other title could be adopted. This was suggested in order to avoid any conflict with English law and to keep within the restrictions of the Emancipation Bill of 1829, for which, in 1845, Lord John Russell had declared he could conceive no good ground.

At the second meeting of the cardinals, which took place on July 17th, all was approved and settled, with the exception of the titles, on which the cardinals desired to consult the personal feelings of each bishop. Dr. Ullathorne therefore proposed to return home and meet the assembled hierarchy at the opening of the Salford Cathedral. Meanwhile, the Pontifical decree had been prepared, with spaces for the titles; the historical preface being by Mgr. Palma, from materials supplied by Dr. Grant, rector of the English College in Rome, whilst the body of the document was the work of Cardinal Vizzardelli.

These negotiations were known in England without awakening any offence in the papers. In a discussion in Parliament on August 17th, Lord J. Russell declared "that it would be very foolish to take means of great vigour or energy to prevent the Pope from communicating with the Catholics of this country." No support or recognition would be given to the new bishops; but here was a declaration, bearing out the force of the oath prescribed for Catholics in the Emancipation

Act, that the action of the Pope with regard to English Catholics was free.

Further political troubles, however, had arisen in Italy to delay the accomplishment of the measure. In November 1848, the Pope had been compelled to fly from Rome to Gaeta. Rome was in the hands of the revolutionists. Order was not restored till the April of 1850 when the Pope returned to his own city. Late in the summer of that year, the discussion of the English hierarchy question was resumed, and resulted in a unanimous petition from the Cardinals of the Congregation for the issue of the brief. There was another difficulty now in the way. Bishop Walsh of London had died in the February of 1849, and Bishop Wiseman was Vicar-Apostolic of the London district. The Pope had determined to confer the cardinal's hat upon Bishop Wiseman, a course which would necessitate his removal from London to Rome. For a cardinal could not be a Vicar-Apostolic; he could not live in England merely as a cardinal under Vicars-Apostolic; and it was feared that his residence in England might irritate the feelings of Protestants or clash with the law of the land. News of this promotion leaked out in July. In August Dr. Wiseman had an interview with Lord John Russell, at which he communicated to him his appointment and his future destination as Librarian of the Vatican Library. The leave-taking was friendly and cordial on both sides.

This removal of Bishop Wiseman, however, seemed nothing short of a calamity to the English Bishops, and strong representations were immediately made to Rome of the injury that must result to the cause of Catholicity in England. But as things were at the time, the position of a cardinal in England was ecclesiastically impossible.

The only way out of the difficulty was the accomplishment of what had been so long under consideration—the creation of a hierarchy in England, and the sending back of Bishop Wiseman as the head of it. This latter course was gladly hailed by all parties. We have already seen how careful Rome had been, in all previous negotiations, not to ruffle English feeling, or to violate English law. Now again, at the last moment, and in the same spirit of anxiety, Sir George Bowyer, a Catholic barrister of some fame, was called in and

asked, amongst other things: 1. Whether it was unlawful for a cardinal to reside in England? 2. Whether the creation of Roman Catholic diocesan bishops was contrary to the law of the land? To both these questions, he and the others consulted were unanimous in returning a direct negative. At last, therefore, all was clear, and so, on September 29th, 1850, the Letters Apostolic, re-establishing a Catholic hierarchy in England, were promulgated.

In these letters, following on the historical introduction, comes the effective portion, couched in these words:

Wherefore, after having duly considered the whole matter, of our own motion and certain knowledge, and out of the plenitude of our Apostolic authority, we decree and ordain that in the Kingdom of England shall again flourish according to the laws of the Church, the hierarchy of bishops in ordinary, who shall take their titles from the Sees which we appoint by these presents in the districts of the several Vicars-Apostolic.

The sees and their extent are then described in detail.

At a consistory held on the following day, Bishop Wiseman was created a cardinal priest and, on October 3, received the cardinal's hat, with the title of St. Pudentiana, demanding at the same time the pall as Archbishop of Westminster. Four days later, on October 7, His Eminence, still in Rome, issued, out of the Flaminian gate, the gate looking towards his own See of Westminster, a pastoral letter addressed to the clergy and laity of his new archdiocese. Naturally this pastoral took a jubilant tone. It bore tidings of success after long anxiety and discussion—tidings of a new departure which seemed to open a vast prospect of success in promoting the cause of God in this country. After greeting his flock and tracing in outline the plan of the restored hierarchy, His Eminence continued:

The great work then is complete; what you have long prayed for and desired is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair churches, which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of the Catholic communion. Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished, and begins anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light and of vigour.

The pastoral was published without being communicated to

the English bishops, and along with the Letters Apostolic, quickly found its way into *The Times* and other papers. The storm of furious indignation that the publication of these letters aroused throughout the country was as violent as it was unexpected. There had been no premonitory rumblings, no warnings of an eruption. On the contrary, as we have seen, ministers had expressed no objections when the matter of the proposed hierarchy was brought before them; it would be ignored and so be tolerated. The press had remained silent. Now, however, the sleeping dogs began to howl and bark. That they were baying the innocent moon did not render their bark the less vicious or uproarious. On October 19th, the attack was thus opened by a leader in *The Times*:

We respect the sanctity of religious opinions, we recognise the inviolable rights of conscience under every form of worship, and we profess the liberal opinion of the age we live in, that no civil disabilities ought to be annexed to religious distinctions.

But with due deference to all this, we must reject this

attempt of a foreign power to fasten its authority on our divisions, and resist the construction of those great engines of the Romish hierarchy which it is the great glory of our forefathers to have expelled and overthrown. . . . Is it here in Westminster that an Italian priest is to employ the renegades of our National Church to restore a foreign usurpation?

Again, on the 22nd of October, the same journal thundered forth a description of the papal documents as

documents proceeding from a foreign Government, [and evidencing] an audacious and conspicuous display of pretensions to resume the absolute spiritual dominion of this island which Rome has never abandoned.

But even in the midst of such denunciation it was compelled to admit that

the letter of the law which prohibits Roman Catholic prelates from assuming the titles of the Anglican bishops has been obeyed, whilst its spirit has been set at defiance.

On the 24th it returned to the same subject as follows:

For the objects of spiritual domination and government, these seditious synods, these fictitious dioceses and these indefinite episcopal powers are

avowedly intended to carry on a more active warfare against the liberties and the faith of the people of England.

It would be difficult to imagine anything further from a true view of the case than this. The ordinary language of legal documents, the exuberant joy in the tone of the Cardinal's pastoral were perverted into the language of aggression, an attack on the laws and liberties of England, an insult to our Gracious Sovereign still happily reigning, a daring display of Romish ambition, and all the other thousand and one epithets which can be picked up to be flung as dust from the highway into the eyes of those who pass.

Perhaps we may be pardoned if, in order to convey an idea of the hubbub of indignation that arose, we make a few more quotations from the papers of the day. Said the *Morning Post* :

To create a cardinal-archbishop of Westminster, and to nominate bishops over the land with titles of honour and conditions of precedence, is itself a direct invasion of the royal authority, and an attack on the constitution of 1688.

"The insult which is thus offered to the English nation is aimed against both Church and State," chimed in the *Morning Herald* ; whilst the *Spectator* found consolation in the following :

We believe Popery cannot live in the free atmosphere of England, now becoming freer every day. Popery cannot breathe the same air with natural philosophy, with natural theology, nor with anything else that is free as the sun and the wind.

Unfortunately for this, the *Daily News* thought otherwise :

The fact is, the country is in progress of being sold to Rome by the very institutions and the very guardians which the State has appointed and privileged and endowed. It has been their pignitude, their monopoly, their over-bred distaste and aversion for all that is popular in religion that has produced the opposite extreme ; and that opposite extreme turns out to be popery.

To counteract such declarations as these, Bishop Ullathorne published in *The Times* of October 22nd a letter deprecating the agitation and explaining that the Pope's action was concerned solely with spiritual matters and with the Pope's own

spiritual subjects, who, in all temporal concerns, were subject to and guided by the laws of the land. At St. Chad's, Birmingham, on the 27th of the same month, Dr. Newman preached a sermon on the subject of the restored hierarchy, entitled "Christ upon the Waters."

Meanwhile, Cardinal Wiseman was coming leisurely home. On November 3rd, he wrote from Vienna to Lord John Russell, assuring him that he had not imagined, in August, that he would return to England, and lamenting the erroneous and even distorted view which the English press had taken of the recent action of the Pope, and explaining that he himself was invested with a dignity purely spiritual.

Unfortunately, however, whilst this conciliatory letter was on its way, Lord John Russell, on November 4th, was busy with the composition of a letter to the Bishop of Durham, which has since become historical as *The Durham Letter*. The salient points of that letter are contained in, and its tone may be judged from, the following extracts :

MY DEAR LORD,—I agree with you in considering the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious, and I therefore feel as indignant as you can upon the subject. . . . There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome—a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation as asserted even in Catholic times.

I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation. . . . No foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its rights to freedom of opinion, civil, political, and religious.

Upon this subject then I will only say that the present state of the law shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumption of power deliberately considered." . . . The letter concludes by declaring that "the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power is nothing to the danger within the gates, from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself."

This letter was an unconcealed ebullition of temper from the Prime Minister of England sitting in Downing Street.* Its

* *Punch* described Lord John Russell's action as follows :—

"Little John Russell

Got in a bustle

At hearing the general cry :

[No. 16 of *Fourth Series*.]

appearance in the papers fanned the flames of intolerance and religious bigotry that were already leaping and roaring over the face of the country. Few more unfortunate or ill-timed declarations have ever fallen from a responsible Minister in modern times. Just when the nation was settling down to peace, when by the labours of his predecessors and partly even of himself, the law had become just, "he took advantage of his great position to rouse up the spirit of strife and hate among us, and to quicken into active life the demon of persecution" ("Roebuck's Letter," December 2). As Mr. Bright afterwards declared in Parliament: The least that could be said about the letter was that it had been penned under "feelings of excitement which were hardly becoming in a Prime Minister." However, the Minister's word had gone forth into the ears of the nation; he had in his loudest tones "cried, havoc! and let slip the dogs of war." Every petty persecutor, every zealot against Rome, every hater of all things Romish, every mob orator desirous of making political capital, joined in the hue and cry, knowing that they had the Prime Minister at their back.

Naturally, the 5th of November afforded such people a splendid opportunity of giving vent to their anti-Catholic prejudice. *The Times* of November 6th, 1850, contains reports of the Gunpowder Plot sermons which were all plainly and indignantly directed against this figment of the Papal aggression. In the Guy Fawkes's processions, effigies of the Pope and cardinals were substituted for the usual guys. Men carrying brushes and bowls of whitewash inscribed walls and pavements with "No Popery! No wafer gods! No Catholic humbug!" In a procession that passed through some of the streets of London there were fourteen guys; one of them, 16 feet high, representing Cardinal Wiseman between an impudent nun and a fat monk. In another, the effigy was dubbed "St. Guy the Martyr!"; whilst another was labelled, "Cardinal St. Impudence, going to take possession of Westminster." Similar demonstrations were held at Salisbury, Ware, Peckham, amid the ringing of church bells, and to the strains of the "Rogues' March."

So a letter wrote he
In the popular key,
And said 'What a good boy am I!'"

The agitation was not, however, confined to popular celebrations. Words tending to excite and inflame the worst feelings of intolerance were uttered in high and responsible quarters. The Rev. Dr. Cumming lectured at Hanover Square Rooms on November 7th. Having engaged in prayer, he proceeded to describe the Pope as

the man of sin, the head of the apostasy, the head of that system which was designated in the Scriptures as the mystery of iniquity, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and the abomination of the earth who had had the boldness to insult our Queen, our Church, our religion.

He concluded his address by quoting Shakespeare to the effect—

That no Italian priest
Shall tythe or toll in our dominions.

On November 11th came the Ministerial Banquet at the Mansion-House. There, the Lord Chancellor of these realms, forgetting, in the fury of the storm, the impartial solemnity due to his office, in a reply to the toast with which his name had been coupled, "hurled his award against us from behind the tables of good fellowship and the anti-popish cheers of civic grandees." After words in praise of the Established Church, and in condemnation of the enemies that beset her from within and from without, he said :

The hymn of triumph for the admission to equality in civil liberty has given place to the note of insult, triumph and domination, announcing that you have come under a Roman Catholic hierarchy. Considering the language to which I refer, it would seem as if some were acting in anticipation of the fulfilment of an ancient prophecy which presents a cardinal's hat as equal to the Crown of the Queen of England. If such be anticipated, I answer them in the language of Gloster.

Under our feet we'll stamp thy Cardinal's hat
In spite of pope or dignities of Church.

Lord John Russell also declared from the same place : "It will be my duty to maintain to the utmost of my power the supremacy of our Sovereign."

Amongst these expressions of responsible opinion must certainly be numbered and recorded a few specimens from the

charges delivered to their clergy by the bishops of the Establishment.

London described the action of Rome as "an insult to the sovereign . . . a most wanton and insolent aggression," and spoke of the "spurious and schismatical hierarchy." *His Grace of York* talked of "intolerable and usurped authority"; of "this novel and daring violation of ecclesiastical law, this insulting and presumptuous intrusion." *St. David's* had "feelings of contemptuous pity" for what Exeter alluded to as "a daring display of Romish ambition," and which *Bath and Wells* denounced as "an act disgraceful to a minister of Christ." The clergy in return addressed their bishops; in fact it seemed to be a time for everybody to address everybody else. Addresses also poured in to the Queen from all quarters. To these her Majesty replied in general terms, and in words which showed that she was in a sphere far removed from the storms of bigotry that were swirling around her. Cardinal Wiseman, in his second lecture at St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, on December 15th, thus described those answers:

A voice has been heard from the Throne, gentle yet firm, as becomes a Queen's, a voice that gives assurance of justice to the assailed, and security of equal rights to all.

A whirlwind of fury, described as follows by Cardinal Wiseman, swept over the country:

Sarcasm, ridicule, satire of the broadest character, theological and legal reasonings of the most refined nature, bold and reckless, earnest and artful argument—nothing seemed to come amiss; and every invocable agency, from the Attorney-General to Guy Fawkes, from *præmunire* to a hustling, was summoned forth to aid the cry and administer to the vengeance of those who raised it.*

To meet all this agitation an address of loyalty, composed by Cardinal Wiseman, and signed by the Catholics of England, was presented to her Majesty. The Cardinal also now threw himself into the newspaper war that was raging, and on the 20th of November issued, in a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, "An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy." It was printed in full in the *Times* of the same day. The day after,

* Introduction to Cardinal Wiseman's "Appeal."

the same newspaper, climbing gently down from its previous position, congratulated His Eminence, in a lengthy leader, on his recovery of the use of the English language, and avowed a wish that he had spoken more plainly before. It then proceeded, however, to show that

The Roman Catholic Church has two languages—one of more than mortal arrogance and insolence, the other, artful, humble, and cajoling, but behind it all, ever of the same stern unbending spirit.

A brief *resumé* of this justly famous appeal must necessarily find a place here.

After an introduction sketching the history of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England from 1623 to 1850, and of the frequent requests for bishops with the full knowledge of the responsible Ministers of the time, the Appeal opens with a short description of the agitation that had sprung up against the recent action of Rome. His Eminence then goes on to show—first, that the Queen appoints bishops whom those who do not believe in them need not obey, and that the denial of the royal supremacy is no offence at common law; secondly, that only the taking of the names of existing Protestant sees, deaneries, &c., was forbidden by the Emancipation Act; thirdly, that as we could only get our hierarchy from the Pope we had a right to appeal to him for it; fourthly, he shows that, as the law declares the Pope has no power in England, the spiritual acts of the Pope do not come under the cognizance of the law, and that therefore bishops may be appointed and take titles, not forbidden by law, without any infringement of the law; fifthly, it was demonstrated that the mode of establishing the hierarchy had been neither insolent nor insidious, for the same had been already done in the colonies and acknowledged by the authorities, whilst the whole history of the recent restoration showed that ministers had been cognisant of what was going on; sixthly, it was explained that Westminster was taken as the title of the metropolitan, partly from necessity, as London was already the title of a Protestant see, and Southwark a separate Catholic see, and partly also to avoid giving offence. Then followed the conclusion of the appeal, pointing to the part of Westminster which alone the Cardinal covets, bemoaning the action of the Protestant clergy, and

thanking the people of England in general, and Catholics in particular, for their forbearance. From this peroration, probably the most forcible passage the Cardinal ever penned, we quote the following :

Yet this splendid monument, its treasures of art, and its fitting endowments form not the part of Westminster which will concern me. For there is another part which stands in frightful contrast, though in immediate contact, with this magnificence. . . . Close under the Abbey of Westminster there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts, alleys and slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity and crime, as well as of squalor, wretchedness, and disease ; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera ; in which swarm a huge and almost countless population, in great measure, nominally at least, Catholic ; haunts of filth which no sewage committee can reach—dark corners, which no lighting board can brighten. This is the part of Westminster which alone I covet, and which I shall be glad to claim and to visit as a blessed pasture in which sheep of Holy Church are to be tended. . . . Thanks to you, brave and generous and noble-hearted people of England who would not be stirred up by those whose duty it is to teach you gentleness, meekness and forbearance, to support what they call a religious cause by irreligious means ; and would not hunt down when bidden your unoffending fellow-citizens, to the hollow cry of No Popery, and on the pretence of a fabled aggression.

On this whole noble passage from which we quote, a writer, analysing and commenting on the Appeal over the *nom-d'emprunt* of "John Bull," remarked :

If this passage is too good for an archbishop, the anomaly may be accounted for by the fact that he is poor and cannot afford to be stupid.

The Spectator of November 23 declared :

Whether confuting the Premier on grounds of political precedent, meeting ecclesiastical opponents with appeals to principles of spiritual freedom, rebuking a partisan judge, or throwing sarcasm at the indiffusive wealth of a sacred establishment which has become literally hedged from the world by barriers of social depravity, he equally shows himself the master of dialectical resource.

The London News of the same date sorrowfully assured its readers :

The appeal is so temperate, so logical as to increase the public regret that it did not appear a month ago, before the mischief was done, and before this angry flood of theological bitterness was let loose over the land.

Atlas declared that Cardinal Wiseman was "at once the most polite and astute reasoner of his time"; whilst *The Morning Chronicle* (November 21) regretted that

The false position taken up by the Prime Minister should have enabled Cardinal Wiseman to assume, with so much plausibility and success, the defensive position of the representatives of an injured and insulted community.

It will be evident from quotations such as these, which might be multiplied indefinitely, that the appeal was not without its effect. It pierced opponents panoplied in defective armour, and where it failed to convince, it at least succeeded in extorting the tribute of unwilling admiration. But His Eminence did not rest content. On December 8th, he commenced a course of three lectures on the Catholic hierarchy at St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, in order to console and fortify his own immediate subjects.

However, in spite of all attempts to stem the tide of violent feeling that had been aroused by a mistaken press, by a Minister appalled by the fear of losing office, and by an episcopate alarmed for its undisturbed comfort, the hideous agitation went on through all the dark days of December and of January. Addresses continued to pour in to the Ministry and to the Crown. Expectation rose on tiptoe as the time for the opening of Parliament approached. The Prime Minister had declared in the Durham letter that "the law should be examined, and that the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumptions of power should be deliberately considered." Would the Minister fulfil his threat? The agitation over the so-called Papal aggression had at first fallen into the hands of the press, and of the clergy of all denominations, who had treated it from a point of view natural enough to a clerical eye, as a conflict between rival religions struggling for the mastery over the consciences of their congregations. Then it had fallen into the hands of the lawyers, whose profession led them to view it as a problem involving many points of antiquarian and historical interest. Was it now about to enter on a third stage of existence? Was it, in obedience to popular clamour, roused by the indiscreet indignation of a Minister of the Crown, now about to be forced under the jurisdiction of Parliament, whose power is not only to

discuss, but to determine? There was anxiety in some quarters, but for the most part the future policy of the Government was a foregone conclusion.

II.

These hopes and expectations were not disappointed. On February 4, 1851, Parliament was opened by the Queen in person. The Queen's Speech, after alluding to difficulties attending the land question, proceeded as follows :

The recent assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles, conferred by a foreign Power, has excited strong feelings in this country, and large bodies of my subjects have presented addresses to me expressing attachment to the throne, and praying that such assumptions should be resisted. I have assured them of my resolution to maintain the rights of my Crown, and the independence of the nation against all encroachment, from whatever quarter it may proceed. I have at the same time expressed my earnest desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired the religious liberty which is so justly prized by the people of this country. It will be for you to consider the measure which will be laid before you on this subject.

This, of course, was the signal for the fray in Parliament. After a spirited protest against the projected legislation by Lord Stanley, the Lords agreed to the Address; but in the Commons, it was made the subject of a warm and prolonged debate of three days. Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, rose immediately after the seconder of the Address, and denounced the agitation in all its aspects.

To say to the Catholics that they shall not have bishops who derive their power from the Pope of Rome, is to say to them—you shall not have bishops to confer on you the spiritual comforts of your religion. In other words, it is gross persecution. . . . I charge the noble lord with dealing falsely on the present occasion with the people of this country. . . . Does anybody believe that the Catholics of England, who are amongst the most peaceable and submissive of all classes of her Majesty's subjects, and who are, I will say, too humble, of all persons in the world should be accused of making inroads upon her Majesty's prerogative, because Dr. Wiseman is called Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster. There is no meaning in this word aggression; the contest is wholly one as to the spiritual influence of the Pope. I would treat alike the Catholic who bows to the Pope, the Methodist who bows to Conference, and the Episcopalian who does not bow to anybody, but bows to

this House. For eventually, this House governs the kingdom: the Queen's supremacy is the supremacy of the Minister, and that means the opinion of this House.

Lord John Russell assured the House of the sincerity of his letter to the Bishop of Durham, reminded them of Rome's aggressive spirit in matters temporal as well as spiritual, and gave notice of the Bill he would introduce upon the subject of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

In pursuance of this notice, the Prime Minister, on February 7th, rose to move for leave to bring in a Bill "to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom." Cardinal Wiseman was present under the Gallery.

Declaring that he was acting under a full consciousness of his responsibility, Lord John Russell pointed to a recent synod at Thurles against the godless colleges, to the unchanging aggressive spirit of Rome, the anti-Roman legislation in Catholic countries and in bygone England, and to the fact that Rome's recent action was an interference of ecclesiastical power with the temporal supremacy of the realm. The debate was prolonged until the 14th before the first reading of the Bill was passed. Mr. Roebuck again threw himself into the forefront of the opposition, and was followed by Mr. John Bright. Mr. Bright wondered why the proposed bill was not aimed at that greater danger of the Church of England, the enemies within her own gates—rather than appeal to the bigotry of the country against the Pope. The Bill proposed would be impotent for the object professed. The matter was not worth legislating upon; but if the country was to be affrighted, it was but fair to bring in a more substantial measure. Mr. Disraeli, too, whilst promising to vote for the measure, abused it roundly. "This Bill," he said, "is to combat an aggression. . . . Is a piece of petty persecution the only weapon we can devise on a solemn political exigency of this vast importance?"

On the night of the 14th, the House at last divided. The members were:

For the introduction of the Bill	395
Against " " 	63
<hr/>	
Majority	332

The Bill was then ordered to be printed and placed in the hands of members. In its original form it was briefly as follows :

A long preamble cited the Emancipation Bill of 1829 to show that titles of episcopal sees, &c., in the United Kingdom were not to be taken, and that the assumption of other titles from names of places in the Kingdom was also illegal and void, as inconsistent with the rights above rehearsed. Then it was proposed that the following points should be enacted :

1. A penalty of £100 for assuming titles to pretended sees, &c., in the United Kingdom.

2. That all deeds or writings executed by or under the authority of persons using such titles, should be void.

3. That all endowments of such pretended sees, and all gifts in favour of such persons, should enure to Her Majesty, and remain at her disposal; whilst all powers relating to charitable bequests, &c., vested in such persons, were to be exercised as her Majesty should think fit.

4. That persons liable under the Act might be compelled, in any suit in equity relative to such trusts, to answer upon oath, notwithstanding such liability.

Such, in substance, was the Bill as at first introduced. The preamble contained two falsehoods. First, reciting Section 24 of the Emancipation Bill, it declared that it might be doubted whether the said enactment extended to the assumption of the titles of places, not sees already recognised by law. There never had been any doubt on the subject. The enactment did not extend so far. Secondly, the preamble declared the illegality of the assumption of such titles. On these two false declarations, the first section imposed a fine of £100. Sections 2 and 3 were more serious matters; interfering, as they did, with the validity of our bishops' signatures, and the charitable bequests made to them in the interests of their office. Section 2 would have cast a slur on all their episcopal acts, their ordinations, the validity of the marriages of their subjects; whilst Section 3 was directly opposed to the Charitable Bequests Act of 7 & 8 Victoria, by which a Board of Commissioners, composed of 5 Protestants, 5 Catholics and 3 Judges of the Irish Courts of Equity, was appointed to be trustee for any property which might be bequeathed or con-

veyed to it in trust for the Catholic bishops and their successors.

And yet, in the face of all this, speaking on the authority of the preamble, *The Times* of February 18th had the hardihood to declare that the Bill created no new offence, but only imposed a new and moderate penalty for the commission of an old offence; and consequently that the Bill was a mitigation of the dangers of the position of the Romish hierarchy rather than a penal law.

Lord John Russell had given notice that he would move the second reading of the Bill at an early date. But he had reckoned without his host. Much was to happen before then. The Government were met by two adverse votes. One was directed against their policy of maintaining the taxation of the country in the form then existing. The other was a division in favour of a motion by Mr. Locke, M.P. for East Surrey, who proposed the assimilation of the county with the borough franchise. There was then only one course open to the Ministry so discredited. Russell and his colleagues placed their resignations in the hands of the Queen. Lord Aberdeen and others were asked to form a Ministry, but were unable to do so under the circumstances of the time. It is certain that this ill-starred measure of the Titles Bill was at the bottom of the difficulty. Both Lord Aberdeen and Sir John Graham regarded it as a violation of the principles of toleration. At last, after much hurrying to and fro between Downing Street and the Court, and after much anxious sounding and discussion, the late Government were called upon to step into the breach, and carry on the business of the country as best they could.

Making a virtue of necessity, Lord John Russell determined to push on the legislation upon which there was least disagreement. But even here he was compelled to trim. He therefore gave notice that having been advised by persons of competent authority that the provisions of the Titles Bill might interfere with the ordination of priests and with existing endowments, he would have those provisions re-examined and altered.

The debate on the second reading of the Bill was opened on Friday, March 7, by Sir G. Grey, who explained the modifications introduced by the Government. The main point was

the excision of Clauses 2 and 3, in which form, he declared, the Bill would still "be an unambiguous declaration of Parliament, embodying a national protest against the assumption of ecclesiastical titles." The debate was continued for several days with much spirit and even acrimony on both sides. The Irish members, rallying to the call of Frederick Lucas, the editor of *The Tablet*, opposed the Bill step by step. It was not a little grotesque to find friend and foe in agreement in their scorn for this miserable measure. Adherents and opponents alike regarded it with sneers. To the former it was too weak, to the latter it was a mere piece of unnecessary persecution, and a sad retrogression on the legislation of the last thirty years. Many awful things too were prophesied of the grasping policy that would be pursued by our new bishops.*

A powerful speech against the Bill was made by Mr. Gladstone, then member for Oxford University. "If," said he, "our temporal affairs had been interfered with, redress should be demanded from the Court of Rome, not punishment inflicted on our fellow-countrymen. If, again, the appointment of bishops was of itself a spiritual act, why should the Crown interfere with Catholic bishops; if, on the other hand, it was of itself a temporal act, why exempt the Scotch bishops. If recourse was to be had to forgotten points of law, he protested against the application of such doctrines to one body alone. The Bill before the House said nothing about the foreign power that was supposed to have infringed the rights of the Crown, but imposed, instead, penalties on her Majesty's subjects. It had ever been the moderate party among English

* Lord Ashley quoted Milton :—

"Then they shall seek to avail themselves of names,
Places, and titles, and with these to join
Secular power, though feigning still to act
By spiritual And from that pretence,
Spiritual laws, by carnal power, shall force
On every conscience."

Mr. Walpole deprecated the idea of producing a non-effective measure, and aptly quoted—

"They must not make a scarecrow of the law,
Setting it up to fear the birds of prey,
And let it keep one shape till custom make it
Their perch and not their terror."

Catholics that had wanted bishops in ordinary, and it had been part of Pitt's policy in 1790 to help them." He concluded finely as follows :

England moves slowly but steadily in legislation. We have a function before the nations—to take a step and keep it. . . . Let us show the Pope and the cardinals that we too have a *semper eadem*, and not spend the latter half of the century in repeating Penelope's process work (of undoing what we have done), but without Penelope's purpose.

This speech was delivered on March 25, just before the division upon Lord Arundel's amendment to read the Bill that day six months. The numbers proclaimed by the tellers were :—

Against the amendment	433
For „ „ 	95
	<hr/>
	338

The second reading was therefore carried by a majority of 338. Commenting upon the numbers of this division, *The Times* was compelled to admit :

In spite of this gigantic majority there was no advance towards an ultimate settlement of the question. Although the second reading was carried so triumphantly, the Ministerial Bill has really no supporters.

The truth of this is evident from the severe handling which the Bill received during its long and stormy passage through Committee. At last, however, the third reading was proposed by Lord John Russell on July 4, and was agreed to by a majority of 263 against 46.

During the debate, Mr. Reynolds expressed the general opinion when he had declared that even the noble lord, the head of the Government, could not tell what shape the measure would assume twenty-four hours hence. It was, indeed, a political and religious chameleon. Some discussion ensued as to the title of the Bill. Mr. Grattan proposed that it should be dubbed "A Bill to prevent the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the United Kingdom." Mr. Gladstone again siezed the opportunity to denounce it "as the first step backwards to the abyss of persecution. He was not pleading," he said, "for papal bulls, but for the equal religious freedom

of all classes of her Majesty's subjects. The Act as it then stood, saved, by exemption, the bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland." "They do not exist," cried a voice. "No," retorted Mr. Gladstone, "not in the eye of the law. Neither do the Catholic bishops. So leave as much existence to the titles of the Roman Catholic bishops."

At length, under the title of "An Act to Prevent the Assumption of certain Ecclesiastical Titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom," the Bill went up to the House of Lords, and was, as a matter of courtesy and custom, read a first time. On Monday, July 22, the second reading was moved by Lord Lansdowne, who admitted that if their lordships did not think they were dealing with the aggression of a foreign power which was dishonourable to the sovereign, they ought to reject the Bill. On the other hand, Lord Aberdeen and the Bishop of Norwich declared that the mere toleration of an Episcopal Church, such as the Catholic, included the liberty to appoint bishops, to determine their number and rank, and to bestow upon them any titles that did not infringe on any existing rights. If the Bill were allowed to be anything more than a dead letter, there would be trouble in Ireland. After an adjourned debate the Bill was allowed to be read a second time by a majority of 227 against 38. On July 25, the Lords went into Committee, and on the 29th, on the motion of Lord Lansdowne, passed the third reading without a division. The Royal Assent was given on August 1, the feast of St. Peter's Chains, and so the Bill became part, ever an inoperative part, of the statute law of England.

We have seen the provisions of the Bill as first introduced. It was now barely recognisable as the same measure, so merciless had been the running fire of criticism through which it had had to pass, so pliable had its promoters proved themselves.

The Preamble still cited the Emancipation Act, but declared that there was a doubt whether the passage in question met the case of new titles. Accordingly, it was enacted by Clause 1 that all letters apostolical, briefs, &c., as well as the titles and jurisdiction which they conferred, were illegal and void. By Clause 2, all persons who procured, published, or used such briefs, and all who assumed the titles conferred by such

briefs, were declared liable to a fine of £100. Clause 3 exempted the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Scotland from the operation of the previous clauses; whilst the Irish Charitable Bequests Act was also exempted by Clause 4.

Such, then, is this ill-starred measure—the offspring either of a Minister's burst of indignation or want of foresight, or which was even, as some have maintained, a preliminary move in a deeply laid scheme of the Whig party to enslave the Church. Early in the debate, Mr. Disraeli had poured scalding scorn upon it as neither asserting nor vindicating a single principle, and as remedying no substantial evil. The Bill was as rickety a piece of legislation as the tottering Ministry that had framed it. Even *The Times* of July 7 was compelled to admit that the "Government had little cause to triumph over its prostrate and humiliated adversaries." In the first place, the prime mover of the Bill had altogether changed it. Then friends and foes had dictated amendments, and enforced them by parliamentary defeats. Yet this disciplinary treatment was meekly accepted by the Ministry, who adhered, not merely to office, but to the principles of an act, of the preamble and two enacting clauses of which they disapproved. If the amendments were trivial, why were they so pertinaciously resisted? If important, how was it they were so easily adopted? Originally a Bill against certain ecclesiastical titles, a clause was withdrawn and an admission made that, for certain purposes, the use of such titles must be permitted. It had been re-cast, battered, and tinkered, till it had lost every vestige of its identity. Surely, the introduction, exclusion, and the reintroduction of principles, as well as the dual designing of its structure, were poor guarantees for the perfection of a measure which had for so many months engrossed the attention of Parliament.

On July 31, *The Times*, bitter as it had been against us, and savagely as it had hounded on the Ministry to persecuting legislation, found itself speaking as follows of the Bill recently passed :

It is an embarrassing compromise between the necessities of self-defence and the maxims of religious liberty. For ourselves, we trust it may remain a dead letter, not from the supineness of the Administration,

but from the prudence of the parties against whom it is directed. We have done little, and that little may become less, but the national resolution has been placed indisputably on record, and the very scantiness of our legislation is the best proof of its equitable intent.

The truth is, the country was ashamed of itself; the great newspaper was beaten, and was now climbing down. The last words we have quoted were strangely prophetic; the little *did* become less. From the beginning, the Bill remained a dead letter, and that through no submission on the part of those against whom it had been launched, till, after an unsuccessful effort in 1870, Mr. Gladstone repealed in 1871 the Bill which he had so stoutly resisted in 1851.

J. B. MILBURN.

ART. VII.—THE CHURCH OF BORDEAUX DURING THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ENGLISH DOMINION.*

I.—SOURCES.

LAST year I published in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* a rather extensive review, written for the Catholic Scientific Congress in Brussels, of the administrative and financial organisation of the Diocese of Bordeaux on the eve of the Revolution. This work has suggested to me a monograph of the same nature covering a given period of the Middle Ages.

The latter is a far more difficult undertaking than the former. In my last year's essay I was able to treat my subject exhaustively and to secure perfect exactitude. This time my information contains a number of *lacunæ* to be filled in, and the figures which I give can only be taken approximately. Nevertheless, I have been able to bring forward numerous reliable documents and I have the certainty that the chief lines of the subject are beyond the reach of possible contradiction.

In the first place, I will briefly name the sources from which I have drawn my information.

We have in Bordeaux an immense collection of archives, wherein are found, gathered together in the two series indicated as G and H, nearly all that has survived of the original deeds, accruing from the archives of the ecclesiastical and regular establishments of the ancient Diocese of Bordeaux. It was here that I had chiefly to direct, in the beginning, my researches. Unfortunately, outside of the archives of the archdiocese and of the metropolitan chapter, which are definitely arranged and catalogued, and of the collegiate chapter of St. Seurin-lès-Bordeaux, the inventory of which is still in

* By arrangement, this article by M. le Chanoine Allain, Archivist of the Diocese of Bordeaux, which we hope may be helpful in the study by comparative methods of Medieval Diocesan structure and history, will appear simultaneously in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*.—EDITOR.

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the press, a considerable pile of registers and isolated papers relating to other establishments (chapters, parishes, abbeys, priories, and religious houses), is still in the stage of very incomplete arrangement, and many years must elapse before we can have any idea of the unknown riches which it contains. But it so happens that the archives of the archdiocese, in some of the groups of documents of which it is composed, can throw much and very clear light upon many subjects of importance. I will point out in the first place the "Accounts of the Archdiocese," which are almost complete for the period of time of which I am about to write; they are full of references to the secular and regular benefices at that time existing in the diocese, of its administrative divisions, of its titular revenues, of the sources and the importance of those of the archbishops, of their retinue and their mode of living, and of the auxiliaries whom they associated with themselves in its government. We have some of the deeds or charters, both papal and royal, which were conferred upon them; a small number of the registers of their episcopal court; of the dues paid to them for the large amount of land which they possessed and of which they were the overlords; their title-deeds of property, of customs, and of feudal rights. On the other hand we are only imperfectly informed of their synods, their visitations and the part they took in the collation of benefices. We have not any *regesta* of their deeds. Their political actions, however, are better known to us, thanks above all to the large printed collection: Rymer, *Rôles Gascons*; the nine quarto volumes of the collection of the *Archives Municipales de Bordeaux*, and the thirty quarto volumes of the *Archives Historiques de la Gironde*. The archives of the two chapters of St. André and of St. Seurin supply us with reliable data concerning their constitution, their privileges, their revenues, their lands and their jurisdiction both ecclesiastical and civil.

I have, naturally, studied with most minute attention all our books of local history which could be of any real value to the subject, but above all have I applied myself to the study of original documents which have been made use of. I am confident of the accuracy of my statements, and should, I hope, be prepared, if necessary, to bring forward satisfactory proofs for each one of them.

II.—THE DIOCESE.

The *diocesan territory* was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries much the same as it was at the time of the French Revolution. There were always united together under the crozier of one pastor, the two ancient *cities* of the Bituriges Vivisci and the Boians.

Its division into archpresbyteries was made, at the earliest, after the commencement of the sixteenth century, and very probably even later; it continued in substantially the same form as long as the ancient French Church lasted, consisting of eleven divisions at an early period, or reduced to ten by the amalgamation under one archpriest of the two *pagi* of Buch and Born.

To prove the truth of the statistics which follow I have chiefly made use of the plan of contrasting and comparing very minutely the numerous lists of ecclesiastical taxes, which have been preserved for us by the accounts of the archbishopric. I have only admitted into my list of figures those benefices of which the existence is expressly proved by a number of texts all ranging in date from 1350 to 1450. By carefully comparing these with the indications of the *Pouillé du Diocèse de Bordeaux au XVIII. Siècle*, which some years ago I arranged according to the documents of the diocesan archives, I am now able to establish with certitude some very interesting facts.

In the first place the number of parochial divisions did not materially differ at the two epochs which I am comparing. In the eighteenth century 390 parishes and 35 annexes; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries about 403 parishes and 10 annexes. But my calculation here is not absolutely reliable, for from 1350 to 1450 there were changes caused by union and disunion, and also by the dissolution, either permanent or temporary, of some parishes, caused by the ravages of war, or by epidemics.

Regarding the priories the difference is much more considerable, and we find a more noticeable falling off in proportion as we leave the Middle Ages. In the period from 1342–68, 106 priories, at least, mentioned in our financial documents, and we might add more to the number, both regular and Hospi-

tallers, were founded in the metropolitan city. In the eighteenth century there existed only 61—what had become of the others? Many of them had been reunited to the neighbouring parishes; and here again the ravages of war, which was almost incessant in the Bordelais country up to the end of the Fronde, had carried on the work of destruction. On the other hand, these establishments, the nature of which was entirely changed by secularisation, the commanderies no longer supplying any real want, were not often able to survive the diminution of their revenues caused by the fall in the value of money, though the amount of the dues remained the same. The same fate befell the various chapelleries, which were almost innumerable in the Middle Ages.

The secular chapters only numbered four (they increased to six a little later on): namely, the metropolitan church of St. André de Bordeaux, and the collegiate ones of St. Seurin-lès-Bordeaux, St. Émilion, and Villandraut.

The diocese possessed at that time its eleven abbeys, for the most part not in a very flourishing condition, but which the Revolution found still existing. In addition to these we must reckon fourteen convents of men and three of women. Also many institutions of the Hospitallers; the learned Baurein puts their number at a hundred: but by the fourteenth century many of them had become simple priories.

Having made these general observations, I will endeavour to describe the diocese, following the topographical order of the archpresbyteries, which, almost in all cases, correspond with the official and very ancient order of the Synodal lists.

1. In the North-West, between the Gironde and the ocean, the archpresbytery of *Lesparre*, whose archpriest was curé of St. Estèphe; his territory comprised more or less all the actual district of Lesparre. It consisted of 39 parishes; 7 priories, 1 of which, Soulac, was conventual; 2 abbeys, St. Pierre de l'Isle and St. Pierre de Verteuil, both belonging to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine; a convent of Franciscan friars at Lesparre; an establishment of Knights Templars at Benon (which, like all others belonging to the Templars, had, after the suppression of the Order, passed into the hands of the Hospitallers), and finally a hospital at Grayan and a house of Hospitallers at Trélody.

2. South of the Archpresbytery of Lesparre was that of *Moulis*. Its archpriest was curé of St. Médard en Jalles; it comprised 27 parishes; 6 simple priories, 1 priory of Hospitallers and 1 house of Templars, at Arsins.

3. The archpresbytery of *Buch-et-Born* had been formed by the reunion of the *pagus Bogeii* and the *pagus Bornensis*; it was the territory of the *civitas* of the Boians, of whom the last historical trace is the mention in the *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Gallie*. The country of Buch still belongs to the actual diocese of Bordeaux and to the department of Gironde; that of Born, a piece of land of about 45 kilometers from north to south, and from 18 to 20 east to west, along the coast, now belongs to the diocese of Aire in the department of Landes. It is a country of melancholy aspect, consisting of fens, forests, and downs. Its archpriest was curé of Parentis-en-Born; it consisted of 27 parishes, 11 of them in Born and 16 in Buch, and only 2 priories.

4. The archpresbytery of *Cernès*, bordered on the east by the Garonne and the diocese of Bazas, on the south by the same diocese, on the west by the last-mentioned archpresbytery, and on the north by that of Moulis. Its principal place was Gradignan; it consisted of at least 49 parishes and 4 others of which the existence as baptismal churches is doubtful, 5 of them having entirely disappeared, and being only known to us by the accounts of the taxes of the fourteenth century; 12 priories, many of which were originally institutions of the Hospitallers, destined chiefly for the relief of travellers and pilgrims; a secular Chapter composed of a dean and twelve canons, founded by Clement V. at Villandraut, the place of his birth, and definitely organised by a Bull of John XXII. on the 15th January 1316.

5. Having on its western confines the *pagus Sarnensis*, and separated from it by the Garonne, the archpresbytery of *Bénauge*, had eastern frontier adjoining the diocese of Bazas, and its northern frontier the archpresbytery of "Entre-deux-Mers"; it was bordered on the west by the Garonne. It formed a triangle with a base of about 18 kilometers and a height of 28. The country was populous, and the inhabited portions adjoined closely upon each other without interruption. Its chief town was St. Pierre de Loupiac. I reckon in it 47

parishes and 13 priories. That of St. Sauveur at St. Macaire was conventual, of the order of St. Benedict, and had preserved a certain importance all through the Middle Ages; it possessed at least four monastic officials, viz., *prieur*, *sacriste*, *chambrier*, and *ouvrier*, each of whom were separately assessed in the tax office; it was dependent upon the Abbey of St. Croix at Bordeaux. Its magnificent Romanic Church is to-day the parish church. At St. Mocaire also there was a convent of Franciscans, founded in 1265, which found a benefactor in Edward III., King of England.

6. The archpresbytery of *Entre-deux-Mers*, north of the preceding one, took its name from its position between the two rivers Garonne and Dordogne. During the Middle Ages the first-mentioned river was, at Bordeaux, constantly called the *sea*. Its archpriest was curé of Génissac; it numbered 54 parishes, 15 simple priories, 2 abbeys, the first of which, a very important one, that of Sauve-Majeure (*Sancto Maria Sylve Maioris*), of the order of St. Benedict, has long since fallen to ruin; but it was generally in a flourishing condition up to the time of the French Revolution. It was founded in 1080 by St. Gérard of Corbie. In 1364 the Black Prince accorded to it a charter of protection. Twelve of its monastic offices were officially registered, viz.: those of *prieur*, *célier*, *hotelier*, *chambrier*, *infirmier*, *économe*, *aumonier*, *réfectoier*, *sacriste*, *pitancier*, *bibliothécaire*, and *jardinier* (*ortholanus*). The second abbey was that of Bonlieu or *Risus-Agni*, of the Cistercian order, an affiliation of Pontigny, and founded in 1141 by Blessed Sicaire, a monk of Jouy in Burgundy. Towards 1380 it contained only seven monks, and was partly destroyed by the wars.

7. Across the Garonne, between Libourne and Moulon, was situated the archpresbytery of *Entre-Dordogne*; it was bordered by the river of that name and by the river Isle; its eastern frontier adjoined all along the diocese of Périgueux. The curé of St. Magne was its archpriest, and it numbered 46 parishes, amongst others those of St. Jean in the town of Libourne and St. Symphorien at Castillon, the place where was fought the battle in which Talbot was killed, and which definitely decided the restoration of Guienne to the crown of France. In this district there only existed five priories, but

we also notice there a celebrated Chapter, that of St. Émilion, and one abbey, that of Faize. St. Émilion, much renowned from an archæological point of view, and greatly famed for its generous wine, owes its name to a holy hermit who came from Vannes in the second half of the eighth century, and who died full of days and of merit, celebrated for his miracles, in 767. An abbey was erected over his grave; but it was secularised on the 18th December, 1309, by Clement V. The collegiate church possessed 12 canons, 1 dean, 3 other dignitaries, a cantor, sacristan, and an almoner. Besides the abbey there were, in the town of St. Emilion, a convent of Franciscans and one of Dominicans, and lastly an endowed hospital which owed its existence to the liberality of a certain canon, Eymeric de Vinhey, who made a will in its favour in 1403. Libourne possessed a Franciscan house and two hospitals. Faize was a Cistercian abbey affiliated to Pontigny, and established in 1137 by the generosity of Pierre, Viscount of Castillon. From the thirteenth century there was a house of Great Carmelites at Castillon.

8. To the north and west of "Entre-Dordogne," from which it was separated by the river Isle, we find the archpresbytery of *Fronsac*. Its principal town was Bonzac. It numbered 35 parishes, 19 priories, and 1 abbey, St. Pierre de Guîtres, of the order of Cluny, the origin of which is unknown. Its fine church still exists unimpaired. Our tithe-roll enables us to know the number of the monastic offices. They were: *aumônier*, *pitancier*, *sacriste*, and *ouvrier*.

9. West of the archpresbytery of Fronsac, and also upon the right bank of the Dordogne, was the archpresbytery of *Bourg*, with its principal town of Gauriac. It comprised 40 parishes and 8 priories. The town of Bourg, which was rather celebrated in the Middle Ages, possessed an abbey belonging to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. Its history is very obscure. As regards its monastic offices our texts for 1350–1450 only mention, besides the abbot, the sacristan and the almoner. Finally we may mention the priories of the Hospitalers of St. Antoine d'Artiguelongue and of St. Lazare de Bourg.

10. The last archpresbytery of the diocese was that of Blaye, upon the right bank of the Gironde, whose archpriest

was curé of Marçillac. It numbered 26 parishes; 16 priories; three abbeys, of which Pleine selve of the Premonstratensian order, established in the middle of the twelfth century, was rarely in a very flourishing condition. Saint Romain of Blaye, belonging to the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, was a very ancient monastery owing its name to a holy priest, a contemporary of Saint Martin, mentioned by Gregory of Tours in his *de gloria confessorum*. The monastic offices in this monastery in the beginning of the eleventh century were those of *chambrier* and *sacristain*. Bertrand du Chastel caused much anxiety to the Bordelais by his suspected intrigues with the Duc d'Orleans and other French captains. The third abbey in Blaye was that of Saint Sauveur de Blaye, of the order of Saint Benedict; the authors of *Gallia Christiana* have ignored its origin; it had three monastic officers: *sacriste*, *hotelier*, and *ouvrier*. From the year 1218, Blaye possessed in addition one hospital.

It is now time to speak of the revenues and of the various benefices both secular and regular. A title-roll of 1362, unfortunately very incomplete, provides us with very accurate references upon this subject, but the interpretation of the figures is difficult, owing to the incessant variations in the money of this region and doubtless of various other places in the fourteenth century. A very competent numismatist, M. Emile Lalanne, Director of the public weights in Bordeaux, assures me that in the text with which we are dealing, it is the *livre* of Bordeaux which is meant; and he thinks, though not without some hesitation upon this almost insoluble problem, that we might use a multiple of fifteen to get at the real value. I give in the footnote* some prices in Bordeaux *livres* of 1337, the preceding accounts being in leopards and pounds sterling.

For 267 parishes mentioned two curés received 80 liv.; one curé 77 liv.; three had 70 liv.; one 65 liv.; four 60 liv.; twenty-three

* *Clothing*: 1½ ell of blanket, 42 sous; thread and making, 20 sous; 2 ells of grey and 2 ells of red cloth for a gown, intended for the nephew of the archbishop, 10 liv.; to the tailor for the making of one double gown, for two pairs of stockings and for two double cowls for the same, 30 sous; four dozen gloves, 56 sous; nine pairs of shoes for the *cubicularius* of the archbishop, 31 sous; three pairs of stockings for the same, 45 sous; 18 pairs of shoes for two little choristers, 75 sous; repairing the shoes of a valet, 2 sous 11 deniers. Wages: Six days of gardeners, 17 sous 6 deniers; six days of women who have weeded the garden, 6 sous.

from 40 to 55 liv.; eleven from 32 to 35 liv.; thirty-two had 30 liv.; twenty-five 25 liv.; and forty 20 liv. The following are the lowest figures: thirteen curés received 10 liv.; one 9 liv.; and two 5 liv.

Here we have the revenues of the abbeys: Guîtres Bourg and Saint Romain of Blaye, 500 liv.; Saint Sauveur of Blaye, 300 liv.; Isle, 150 liv.; la Sauve, 140 liv.; Pleineselve and Verteuil, 100 liv.; Bonlieu, 30 liv.; the abbot and monks of Faize, 100 liv.

The figures relating to the monastic offices of the various abbeys vary very considerably, the maximum being 500 liv. to the cellarer of the Sauve, and the minimum 6 liv. to the *hotelier* of Saint-Sauveur of Blaye.

With regard to the priors the extreme figures also vary very much. To determine them precisely it would be necessary to entirely transcribe the entries in the before-mentioned roll.

The Metropolitan City.

Such is a brief, but still I believe complete, list of the ecclesiastical establishments existing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the ten archpresbyteries of the diocese of Bordeaux. It remains for me to enumerate those of the metropolis itself, where they multiplied very quickly as time rolled on. Like all cities of any considerable importance in the Middle Ages, the capital of Guyenne was bristling with the towers of parish and conventual churches, chapels and houses of Hospitallers which in certain quarters crowded closely upon each other; while in others they were less numerous, but everywhere the service of God was amply provided for and almost the entire population, profoundly Catholic, could find, everywhere at hand, abundant means of satisfying their devotion.

We are well acquainted, thanks especially to M. Leo Drouyn, with the Bordeaux of 1450 during the last days of the English dominion there. He has drawn up a plan of it upon a very large scale, all the indications of which are verified by original and contemporary texts. In those days the town was not of quite the same form as it is to-day; now it is in the shape of an elongated crescent, of which the river forms the

inner curve. At the close of the Middle Ages it was in the form of an irregular octagon, of which eastern sides followed the Garonne. It was very easy at that time to notice its successive growths as the old walls were still in existence.

The Roman Bordeaux, which was a commercial town of great wealth, had never been fortified. Towards the middle of the third century, probably in 276, it was destroyed by the barbarians. About the year 300, the city was re-built and surrounded by very solid ramparts, into which were built, without any order, innumerable *débris* of buildings, stones covered with inscriptions, &c. These ramparts were flanked by 46 towers and were entered by 14 gates. The wall was rectangular, its larger sides measuring a little over 700 mètres, the smaller ones slightly under 500. This is the town which was sung of by Ausonius. The Bordelais were content with it for eight centuries, but during that long period numerous independent structures arose in the *suburbium*. In the North West the faubourg of Saint Seurin gathered itself round the Basilica in which were preserved the relics of the holy and celebrated bishop of that name. In the South were the Abbey of Sainte Croix and the many dwellings which rapidly collected in its shadow. Little by little commercial faubourgs developed themselves, and that so quickly, that by the end of the twelfth century (towards 1200) it was necessary to enclose by a double wall, well provided with towers and fortifications, an entirely new quarter at the south of the city. It was here that the Commune had its hotel-de-ville and that the great merchants built their lofty and strong houses. In 1302, the town had extended itself considerably to the north and south; it was then that the *jurats* decided to construct a third enclosure, the development of which attained to 6000 mètres.

In 1450 the three lines of ramparts were still in existence, well kept and guarded; the town was strong, free, rich and well populated. It had been for some time a capital which had to be respected by the central power. During the whole time of the union of the Bordelais country with the English crown, the Church had strengthened herself there, and had grown in power and riches, had increased her privileges and exercised in civil, juridical and political affairs a prominent part which increased as time went on. The archbishop's

palace, two chapters, 15 parishes, 13 chapels, 14 priories and hospitals, 1 abbey, 5 convents of men and 3 of women, such is the strong staff of ecclesiastical and religious establishments which had sprung up and taken root in the soil of Bordeaux.

At the south-west angle of the Roman *castrum* rose the Cathedral, dedicated to Saint Andrew; this was certainly no longer the church which was consecrated by Pope Urban II. in 1096. Some parts of it had been rebuilt, notably in the first years of the fourteenth century. The transept and the choir with their collateral naves, their chapels, their four towers and their superb portals, are particularly remarkable from the double point of view of their architectural conception and their sculptural decoration, while their dimensions are very considerable. In the large nave, which is simple but of immense size, used to be held the municipal assemblies to which the "common people" were called. It is here that upon the 25th July every year the new *jurats* were proclaimed; here that they exchanged oaths with the *bourgeois*, as also did the King of England's representatives. At the time of which we are speaking the rich and powerful Metropolitan Chapter had just finished erecting, towards the apse of the church, the beautiful square belfry, which stands quite isolated and is known by the name of "Pey Berland Tower."

The large nave was surrounded on all sides—on one side by the canons' houses, which were built round a charming cloister in the fourteenth century, and which were very unadvisedly destroyed a few years ago; on the other by the archbishop's palace, an immense pile of buildings of all periods, in which very illustrious personages were often received, especially princes and lords from England. It was here that King John was brought after the fatal battle of Poitiers. The Dean of the Chapter had a charming house close by.

At the bottom of the square, behind the apse of Saint André, stood the Romanic chapel of Saint Sauveur, and just behind it the little parish church of Notre Dame de la Place. This church was, for a long time, the centre of a confraternity of thirteen priests, called "*La Treisaine*," which was instituted in 1237 by Archbishop Géraud de Malemort and confirmed by Pey Berland in 1440. When, at the beginning of the

fourteenth century, Notre Dame de la Place was given up to the Irish Seminary, the exercises of the "Treisaine" were carried out at Saint André. There were eight other parishes within the limits of the Roman *castrum*, viz.: Saint Paul, Saint Christoly, Notre Dame de Puy-Paulin, Saint Projet, St. Mexans, Saint Siméon, Saint Remi, and finally Saint Pierre, of which the nave alone stood inside the ancient walls; the *iurats* had just rebuilt the choir outside of them. None of these churches were of much value from an artistic point of view. In the old town were still to be seen the chapels of Sainte Marthe and of Sainte Catharine. It was but poorly provided with convents; the Mercy Convent and that of the Order of the Temple had been built there. I am not aware of the exact epoch at which the Templars came to Bordeaux, but the Frères de la Merci established themselves there in 1320. There had also been in the same quarter some Friars of the Sack, *Sachets* or *fratres de sacco*, whose convent seems to have enjoyed but a short existence.

It was also in the ancient Gallo-Roman town, not far from the Cathedral, that was to be found Saint André, the most important hospital of Bordeaux. It had been instituted in 1390 by the liberality of a rich canon, Vital Carles, a cantor of the Church of Bordeaux. As he had evidently noticed that a good number of the charitable institutions which had been erected as benefices had, in time, become ordinary secular priories, he expressly desired that his should be governed by a lay Hospitaller, and placed it under the patronage of the mayors and *iurats* of the town; but of course it was an understood thing that the hospital should have its chaplains, for it was really more the care of the souls of the poor and sick than the alleviation of their bodily sufferings which determined him to bestow his bounty.

At the time of the first enlargement of the town there were two parish churches, Saint Eloi, and Sainte Colombe. The first was the chapel of the *iurats*, whose tribunal was called the "Court of Saint Eliège"; its front faced the Hôtel de Ville and the two walls of the second inclosure hemmed it in very narrowly. Though it has since been provided with a side-aisle it still retains the type of a very small city Church of the Middle Ages. Its apse, of the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries, is very elegant and in very good style. Sainte Colombe covered the spot which bears its name until the year 1607, when it collapsed on the 2nd December. I have found amongst the diocesan archives a petition from the churchwardens from which I judge that the façade of this ancient church must have possessed great artistic interest. The area of Sainte Colombe was singularly restricted, its greatest length not reaching more than 250 mètres and its greatest width 150 mètres at most. In the same quarter I find three chapels; those of Lopsault, Notre Dame des Ayres and Saint Jean; a commandery of Saint Antoine, founded in 1352, whose buildings, later on, passed into the hands of the *Fewillants*, and three hospitals, Notre Dame de Cayfiernau, Sent Marsaau and Sent Johan. We do not know anything more of these chapels and hospitals than their existence, which is proved, especially by the contemporary mention of them found in the terriers and in the registers of dues. We know, however, that Saint Jean belonged to the order of Hospitallers, and that in 1224 the Brothers acknowledged a debt of 36 sols annual tax to the Metropolitan Chapter.

The third enlargement of the town of Bordeaux has, very justly, been called "the quarter of the convents"; it is there that the imposing mass of buildings of the abbey of Sainte Croix has risen since the Middle Ages; and there that the monasteries of the Mendicant Friars were built in the thirteenth century.

The northern portion of this third enlargement was dependent upon the parish churches of Saint Remy and Saint Mexans, of whose existence we have already spoken as being in the Roman city. In the south three other parishes had been erected *ab antiquo*: Sainte Eulalie, which most likely replaced the ancient monastery of Vierges spoken of in the *Gallia Christiana* according to the *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*; Saint Michel, and finally Sainte Croix, where one of the collateral naves of the abbey was appropriated for parish use and assigned to a secular curate.

Sainte Eulalie, whose district extended far beyond the ramparts, still exists with its naves, its elegant spire, rebuilt about thirty years ago, and its charming polygonal apse of the fifteenth century. This church gloried in the possession of

remarkable relics, notably those of SS. Clarus, Justinus and their companions, martyrs, piously preserved by Charlemagne. Lopès, basing his account on authentic documents, tells us that in 1174, the Archbishop, Guillaume le Templier,

consecrated the parish church, Sainte Eulalie, of Bordeaux and afterwards united the curacy to the Chapter of the Metropolitan Church, which had enjoyed for a long time (as we are told by the deeds) the right of burial and of the sacraments in this church, and Pope Alexander III. authorised this union.

At first Saint Michel was only a simple chapel, dependent upon the abbey of Sainte Croix. Its possession was the subject of serious litigations in the eleventh century between the monks and the canons of the Metropolitan Church. The monks, having proved the antiquity of their rights, obtained, in 1099, permission to remain there in a decree of Archbishop Amatus, Papal Legate, on condition of their paying an annual rent of two sols to the chapter. Many of the Popes successively confirmed this decision, especially Clement V., who never forgot the assistance which he had received from the abbot and monks in the troublous days of his episcopate. Like the other parishes of Bordeaux, Saint Michel never possessed a curé who bore the title; it was governed by a perpetual curate, but during the whole of the Middle Ages it never ceased to increase in population and in wealth. Its endowments were very numerous, and the services attached to them were performed by a college of incumbents, whom Louis XI., in the year 1466, vainly endeavoured to form into a chapter. The parochial spirit was very highly developed in this quarter, and the inhabitants had constantly in view the object of giving to their church an architectural and decorative splendour which should make it rank as one of the first in the city. In this they succeeded. Saint Michel, which was almost entirely completed in 1450, is a very beautiful edifice, not without defects, it is true, but of very great artistic value. The vast proportions of its conception are far superior to the collegiate church of Saint Seurin and to the abbey church of Sainte Croix. The magnificent belfrey, one of the most beautiful ornaments of the town, was built only in February 1474. At the time of which I am speaking, the spot upon which it now stands was occupied by a simple chapel, built over a charnel-house in the centre

of the parish cemetery. The abbey and parish church of Sainte Croix is also still in existence. It had a splendid Romanic façade, which had been left unfinished by the monks and which has been restored, or rather rebuilt, in our own times; though not without having, according to the best critics, lost something of its original character. The interior is large and sufficiently regular, the three naves being terminated by beautiful apses of the twelfth century. It is quite beyond doubt that this Benedictine abbey dates from the time of the Merovingians; the story *de monacho burdigalensi*, told by Gregory of Tours, quite gives us the idea of a community of monks organised and governed by an abbot. This monastery stood outside the walls of the town until the beginning of the fourteenth century. It must have been destroyed by the Saracens in 732; restored at first by Charlemagne; then restored again by the Normans; and finally definitely re-established by the Duke of Gascony, Guillaume le Bon. Since that time its prosperity has always been on the increase. It was richly endowed with *prædia* and with dues, many churches were given over to it, and princes and popes conferred great privileges upon it. The list of abbots given us by the *Gallia* is a very full one, the first mentioned being that of Elias towards the year 902. The 20th, Pierre Arnaud, was created cardinal by Clement V. at the time of his first promotion. In 1375 the abbey was governed by Pierre de Fermat, 22nd abbot, distinguished on the list as *optimus abbas*. After him we find, 24th, Pierre de Camiade (1349-1371); 25th, Raymond Bouard de Roqueis (1376-1380), who later on became Archbishop of Bordeaux; 26th, Bernard Salomon (1382-1384); 27th, Amanieu de la Mothe (1384-1412); 28th, Pierre Andrieu (1412-1435), who for a long time was collector for the Apostolic Chamber, and obtained the freedom of the abbey from Martin V.; 29th, the Englishman, Pascal Guilbort, who was elected upon the recommendation of Henry VI.; (1436-1489), but who was obliged to resign the crozier to the Bishop of Bazas; 30th, Henri de Cavier, the first commendatory abbot (1439-1446); and 31st, Pierre de Bramo, Protonotary Apostolic, also held the monastery in commendam. The abbot's revenue was estimated in 1362 at 316 Bordeaux livres.

The various cloister offices were, at the end of the Middle

Ages, and had been no doubt for long before, established as distinct benefices. When the tithes were collected in 1362 we find mentioned the *cellier*, the *chambrier*, the *poissonier*, the *chantre*, the *sacriste*, the *refectorier*, the *infirmier*, the *hôtelier*, and the *ouvrier*. Each one of them possessed, within the enclosure of the abbey grounds, his house, garden, and other dependencies. Their united revenue amounted to 1526 Bordeaux livres. In the records of the *jurats* (October 15, 1406) is preserved a document which informs us very accurately of the staff of Sainte Croix at that time: *L'abat de Senta-Crotz trameto bert messenhors (the jurats) per cedula, los noms deus senhors, monges, caperans et clerics deudeit monester n'y d'on erant ; the prieur claustral, the sous-prieur, the chambrier, the refectorier, the sacriste, the chantre, the infirmier, the hôtelier, the sous-chantre, the pitancier ; six chaplains, one of whom was styled vicaire (no doubt the perpetual curate of the parish), and four prebendaries ; finally twelve clerks, two of whom were attached to the person of the prior, one to the vice-prior, one to the chamberlain, one to the refectorian, five to the sacristan, one to the infirmarian, and one to the guest-master.*

The abbey was surrounded by a sanctuary, whose inhabitants were free from the jurisdiction of the magistrates of the town and of the heads of the trade guilds. In fact its territory was as large as that of the parish, which extended as far as the outskirts of the town. Near the apse of the church stood a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen.

In 1418 there arose serious disagreements between the abbot and monks of Sainte Croix and the archbishop, David de Montferrand. The monks obtained a Bull which entirely exempted them from the jurisdiction of the archbishop. The prelate naturally did not look at all favourably upon this restriction put upon his authority, and tried his very utmost to prevent, as long as he could, the execution of the apostolic concession. In 1423 a new Bull was issued commanding the Bishop of Aire, the Dean of Saint Seurin, and Abbot of Saint Sever to suppress this resistance. Threatened with excommunication, the archbishop was at last obliged to submit, and, says Dom Devienne, "it is not known that the religious of Sainte Croix after this had ever anything to trouble or impede them in the enjoyment of the privilege accorded to them by

Martin V." I do not think, however, that this favour at all contributed to the regularity or to the spiritual prosperity of the abbey. In any case it was in a most deplorable state in the sixteenth century and at the commencement of the seventeenth, and things went from bad to worse until the time when Cardinal Sourdis brought about the union of Sainte Croix with the congregation of Saint Maur (1627).

In the same quarter of the town the Mendicant orders possessed a number of convents of great importance. The one nearest to Sainte Croix was that of the Franciscans, who in Bordeaux were styled the "Menuts" (*minores*). They came to the town in 1228.

The Cartulary of Sainte Croix has preserved for us an account of the agreement between their provincial on the one hand and the abbot and monks of Sainte Croix on the other. They were not permitted to receive any offering for the celebration of Mass excepting the incense and the candles; they were not to receive to penance or burial any parishioners either of Sainte Croix or of Sainte Michel without permission from the chaplain, and might not acquire any goods from these two churches. In the same cartulary there is inserted a charter of Archbishop Gérard de Malemort (May 23, 1228), declaring that he had consecrated the cemetery of the Friars Minor at Maucaillou, in the parish of Saint Michel, upon the following conditions: That they should only allow to be buried there the brothers of the Order who, while still in good health, had taken the religious habit; and that they should receive in their monastery those monks of Sainte Croix who should go there for the purpose of celebrating the Divine Offices; in the event of these regulations being transgressed the cemetery should be closed. In 1247, owing to the liberality of a rich bourgeois, Pierre de Bordeaux, they were able finally to build their church. The monastery was of considerable size, but I have not been able to obtain any information as to the number of friars which it generally contained. They received regularly, like all the other Mendicant orders, the alms of the *jurats* and of the archbishop. In 1420 the *jurats* issued to the guardian and priors of the Augustinians, of the Dominicans, and of the Carmelites an order to expel, within two days, all the religious of French extraction.

Quite close to the "Menuts" lived the "Menudes," viz., the Franciscan nuns or Poor Clares.

I have not been able to discover so far [says Baurein] the year in which they established themselves at Bordeaux. The oldest voucher which has come under my notice, and which mentions these nuns, is the will of Pierre Carpin, prebendary of Saint Seurin in the year 1295. This ecclesiastic bequeaths to them, as also to other communities in the town, a legacy of 20 sols.

Les Sors Menudas were at first established outside of the walls, which place they were obliged to leave at a date not precisely known, their buildings having been destroyed to help in the defence of the town. This site was preserved, and in 1375 was called "*Menudas Belhas*" (*apud Minorissas antiquas*). Baurein found, in an act of Jan. 18, 1375, the names of twelve religious composing part of the community, and many of them belonged to noble families. An abbess governed this convent, to which frequent legacies were bequeathed, and which existed until the last quarter of the sixteenth century. At that time its revenues were incorporated with the Convent of the *Anonciades* which had been but lately founded at Bordeaux.

The Augustinians claimed as their founder Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Chancellor to the King of England. Lopès has published the Act of December 21, 1257, in which is verified the permission accorded to these religious to build a church and to have a cemetery upon the ground belonging to the parishes of Saint Eloi and Sainte Eulalie, on condition that they should pay a rental of 30 livres, and under the ordinary restrictions concerning the administration of the Sacraments and the burial of the dead. A sentence of the official, dated April 20, 1336, ratifies their obligations with regard to the canons of the Metropolitan Church. Their church was a very large one. The bell tower, much disfigured, however, is still in existence.

Adjoining this religious house was that of the Augustinian nuns. M. Leo Drouyn has discovered in an ancient inventory of Saint André (Act of July 12, 1354), the proof that they held from the Chapter

the ground upon which they lived, in return for the pension of certain

corporals, and of a *tourillon* of good linen, according to the quality and estate of the Chapter of Bordeaux, and this each year upon the feast of Saint Andrew.

This convent was no longer in existence at the end of the sixteenth century.

The house of the Carmelites also stood in the southern portion of the third extension of Bordeaux. The following is what Lopès says of it :

On the 26th June, in the year 1264, the Chapter came to an agreement with the Carmelite Fathers concerning the monastery which they had built in their district. It was not, however, in this year, that they were first established, as M. de Saint Marthe writes in his *chronique*, after de Lurbe, but long before; first on the spot which is still called *lous Carmes Bielhs*, which is at present incorporated in the Convent of the nuns of the *Anonciades*, and secondly where they are still at the present day, in the year 1217 by Gaillard, Lord of Landes, at which place died Simon Stock, the sixth general of their order, who was buried there in 1250.

The authors of *Gallia* seem to believe, upon good grounds, I think, that the first establishment of Carmelites at Bordeaux did not take place before the middle of the thirteenth century.

The Dominicans had built their monastery in the north of the town, and this seems to have been the most important one in the city of Bordeaux. Bernard Gui relates, with his accustomed precision, the circumstances of its foundation. It took place in 1230 during the episcopate of Géraud de Malemort, and was due to the liberality of a rich bourgeois of Bordeaux, Amanieu Colomb. From the outset the Dominicans of Bordeaux obtained many privileges from Gregory IX. When the Archbishop hesitated as to whether he should bless their cemetery, the Pope commanded him to do so, substituting, in the event of his refusal, the Bishop of Comminges.

Later on [says Rabanis] Simon de Montfort added to the monastery buildings a splendid infirmary, and such was the magnificence of the whole that it became the habitual place of residence of the Kings of England when they visited the city; the part of the monastery which was occupied by them being called the Royal Apartments.

In the deeds of the last presentation made to the Dominicans by the Kings of England, Henry VI. gives as the motive of his gifts that

this Convent possessed vaster and more remarkable buildings than any other house of the same order, and that a large portion of these had been built with the design of accommodating not only the kings, but also the princes and their families and other high dignitaries of the State so long as they should remain in Bordeaux.

In 1325 Arnaud Calhan, a former Mayor of Bordeaux, Seneschal of Saintonge and Lord of Blaye, rebuilt the Chapter Room, the richness of which was in keeping with the rest of the house. The church measured about 60 mètres in length, and 45 at its greatest breadth.

The Dominican nuns or *Sors de Santa Catharina*, certainly possessed a convent at Bordeaux about the year 1450; but I do not know the date at which they were founded, and what may have been their importance.

Five hospitals were successively established in that part of the town which was surrounded by ramparts in the fourteenth century; that of Saint Esprit, not far from the Dominican Convent (and which, later, became a priory united to the College of Saint Raphaël towards the end of the sixteenth century); that of Puch-Moton, near the Church of Saint Michel, about which M. Léo Drouyn has collected considerable evidence; Sainte Croix, which, however, was perhaps founded only after the year 1450; the hospital of the *Peste*, whose name sufficiently indicates the object for which it was especially destined; and, finally, the most important of all, that of Saint James, whose church had been restored to use during this century, and which was transformed into a warehouse by the decrees of 1880.

In 1119, says the *Chronique de Bordeaux*, William, Duke of Guienne, in honour and in memory of Saint James, founded at Bordeaux the hospital and priory of St. James, in which pilgrims going to and returning from Saint Jaques in Galicia, should be housed, lodged, and fed, and foundlings, deserted by father and mother, should be kept and nourished until they attained the use of reason.*

The Archbishop Armand Géraud, in the year 1122, conferred upon the Chapter (of Saint André) the power of confirming the prior who

* "Guillaume, duc de Guienne, en l'honneur et memoire de Saint Jaques, institue à Bordeaux l'hospital et prieuré de Saint Jammes, auquel les pèlerins allans et venans de Saint Jaques en Galice seroient hébergez et nourriz et les enfans exposez n'estant advouez de père et de mère, nourriz jusques à l'age de connoissance."—*Chronique Bourdelaise*. An. 1119.

should be presented to them and the payment of dues which the hospital had to make to him every year upon the feast of St. James the Apostle; so long as no one dying in the parishes dependent upon the Chapter should be buried in the cemetery which he had consecrated for the hospital, with the sole object of the burial of the poor, without license or permission from the canons. And as fresh disagreements arose between the brothers of this hospital and the canons, Géraud, Archbishop of Auch, Papal Legate, following the advice given him by Guillaume, Archbishop of Bordeaux; Elias, Bishop of Agen; Aimar of Saintes; Garsies of Bazas and Guillaume of Acqs, delivered sentence in the year 1174, in which permission was granted to the hospital to bury the brothers who served there, as also the poor and pilgrims; ordaining that with regard to others who should be buried there, whether from the city or from the outskirts, half of all the offerings which were made upon the day of the funeral, and upon the seventh and thirtieth days of the ensuing month, as well as half of all the goods, whether household or otherwise, which should be left in legacy, should belong, without any diminution, to the canons. It was also added that every year one of the brothers of this hospital should present himself before the Chapter and ask them to depute a canon to celebrate High Mass in their church on the feast of St. James, upon which occasion he should be paid the annual tax of two sols, and this decree was confirmed by a papal bull of Pope Alexander III. on the 30th June (Lopès).

This priory was taken on lease by the Jesuits in 1574, for the instruction of youth both in good morals and in the teaching of Catholic religion, with the charge of the housing and nourishing of foundlings and pilgrims before mentioned.—*Chronique Bourdelaise*.

Again, in the suburbs of the town we find numerous charitable institutions and chapels: the Hospital of Saint Julien, founded in 1231 for poor pilgrims; that of the Gahets, with its Church of Saint Nicholas, "destined at first," according to Baurein, "for men supposed to be suffering from *ladverie* or leprosy." These poor people were sometimes the objects of special acts of charity; many wills of the fourteenth century, examined by the same writer, mention legacies made to the "community of the Gahets of Bordeaux;" and the chapels St. Genès, St. Laurent d'Escures, and St. Germain.

In 1383 the Carthusians of Vauclair, being obliged to leave their monastery, which had been wrecked by the French soldiery, took refuge in Bordeaux, where they were received by a rich notary, Pierre de Maderan. They were given some buildings and a garden in the north of the town, where they established themselves and continued to keep this *hospitium*, where some of the monks still resided even after more favour-

able circumstances permitted the others to return to Périgord. This is proved by conclusive documents which were preserved by Baurein.

I have kept for the last the important faubourg of St. Seurin, which was, probably, the first centre of Christianity in Bordeaux. In the neighbourhood of the basilica, in which were venerated the relics of the great bishop of the fifth century—a church already celebrated for its crypt and its Merovingian tombs, surrounded by its cloister, its houses of canons, the *oustaus* of its dignitaries—there were no less than six chapels and two hospitals. A short distance from the Port Dijeaux stood the chapel of St. Ladre, relating to which Baurein has collected a number of deeds, and which certainly existed before 1235 and after 1331; the chapel of “La Recluse;” a little distance from it and opposite the gate of St. Symphorien, stood a chapel of the same name; then came that of the priory of St. Martin of Mont Judaique, which without doubt replaced an extremely ancient oratory dedicated to the great Bishop of Tours. Close to this church the holy Archbishop Pey Berland (1430–1451) founded a hospital under the patronage of St. Peter :

He provided it with beds, an income, and all things necessary for the maintenance of the buildings, and of the eleven poor persons whom they were obliged to receive, whatever part they came from; he made a foundation for a priest to reside there and to direct it, and who should be, at the same time, Titulary of the Chapel of Andernos; he also placed there an hospitaller of honest life and good reputation, or a woman of the same character, to wait upon the poor. In one of the codicils of his will, he bequeathed to this foundation a hundred gold nobles which he had lent to Medard de Durfort and to other cavaliers, also a missal, a chalice, a chasuble, and a coffer or box in which to preserve these vestments.

In the cemetery which surrounded the collegiate Church on three sides, there stood, in the Middle Ages, three chapels. That of St. Étienne was, according to all appearance, one of the primitive sanctuaries in which the first Christians of Bordeaux used to congregate; it was originally the parish church of the faubourg; that of St. Georges, “which was already old at the end of the thirteenth century,” was used later on as a charnel-house; and, finally, that of St. Esprit, built in a hexagon, which had, most likely, succeeded an

ancient baptistry, became the seat of a celebrated confraternity.

Such were, as far as we may with certainty gather, the benefices of the diocese and of the town of Bordeaux, at the close of the Middle Ages. Even putting apart from our Church the Metropolitan rank, which she so justly merits, we may truly say of her that by the extent of her territory and the large number of her establishments both charitable and religious, she ranked as one of the first in France, and indeed in all Christendom. To give a more complete and exact idea of her greatness it is necessary to speak with more detail of her two great chapters of St. Seurin and St. André and of her archbishops, and this will form the subject of a subsequent article.

ERNEST ALLAIN.

ART. VIII.—SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE OF THE DELUGE.

The Secret of Plato's Atlantis. By Lord ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.
London : Burns & Oates. 1885.

On Certain Phenomena belonging to the Close of the Last Geological Period, and on their bearing upon the Tradition of the Flood. By JOSEPH PRESTWICH, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S. London : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

SOME few years ago a work was published entitled "*Atlantis : the Antediluvian World*," by Ignatius Donnelly. It seems to have reached its seventh edition in the year 1883 ; but we do not think that we ourselves or our readers would ever have heard of it, if it had not elicited a reply from Lord Arundell of Wardour. It is founded upon a mythical tale, related by Plato, from whose works, translated by the late Professor Jowett, Lord Arundell, in an Appendix to his treatise quotes it at full length. We need not dwell upon it in any detail, but may briefly explain that *Atlantis* was imagined to be an island in the Atlantic Ocean near the Pillars of Hercules, which fell to the lot of the god Poseidon, who, falling in love with a young lady whom he met there, took up his abode in the island and founded a kingdom ; it was a beautiful and fertile place, full of fruits, flowers, and abundant vegetation, as well as of various kinds of animals. Mr. Donnelly, contrary to general opinion and particularly to that of Professor Jowett (no mean authority on a matter of that kind) who regarded it merely as a fable, believed the story to be based on fact. He maintained that there once really existed in the Atlantic Ocean, opposite the mouth of the Mediterranean, a large island, the remnant of an Atlantic Continent ; that it had been inhabited by a "populous and mighty nation," some of whom migrated to the eastern coasts of America and also to Europe. That it was the true antediluvian world, the Garden of the Hesperides, the Garden of Eden, the Elysian Fields, &c. &c. ; that early mankind dwelled there in peace and happiness, but

that it perished in a terrible convulsion of nature, when the whole island with nearly all its inhabitants sank into the ocean, a few escaping in ships and rafts and carrying with them the tidings of the catastrophe, which we find still surviving in the legends of the Deluge.

Now the Atlantic Ocean has been very fully and carefully sounded; indeed we might venture to say that the bottom of that vast sea is almost as well known as its surface, and we should have thought that if an island in such a position had been submerged, it could scarcely by any possibility have escaped notice when soundings were made in that part of the ocean. Be that as it may, however, Lord Arundell takes the ground of history and tradition in his reply to Mr. Donnelly; and he shows that Plato's story was probably a fable originating in the narrative of a voyage to the north-west coast of Africa, by the Carthaginian Hanno about 505 B.C. He also adduces evidence to prove the general diffusion of the tradition of the Flood; its existence (as is well known) among the Greeks, and in some uncivilised nations, including the aboriginal races of North America, where one would not readily expect to find it.* Lord Arundell in a former work on "Tradition," has gone into these subjects at greater length; but we do not propose to dwell upon this at present, for the existence of the great diluvian tradition is now generally recognised. It supplies indeed the ground for the recent work of Professor Prestwich, to which we are now about to call the attention of our readers. Before proceeding further, we may say that whatever weight we may attach to the traditional recollections of the Flood amongst half-civilised or barbarous nations, there are three accounts of it especially noteworthy: one is the Scriptural narrative; another familiar to classical scholars, the story of Deucalion; the third, a very old version, recently brought to light by the investigators of Oriental tablets, the Babylonian or Chaldaean narrative. It is to be remarked that in all three we have the same feature of the escape of one

* In a recent work entitled "The Land of the Maskeg," by H. Somers Somerset, a tradition of the tribe called the Cree Indians, showing a belief in the Deluge, is mentioned. This tribe inhabits the extreme North of America, and, like other tribes in those parts, have in great measure been converted by Catholic missionaries.

family in an Ark or vessel; in the Book of Genesis it is Noah and his wife, his sons and their wives; in the classical story, Deucalion and Pyrrha; in the Chaldæan, Sisuthros, his household, his slaves, and his concubines. In all three a warning from some deity or demi-god is given: in all a great rain causes or assists in causing the flood: in all a sacrifice is offered after the Deluge has subsided. In the Chaldæan account, the dove and raven, also a swallow, are sent out from the Ark, and allusion is made to the rainbow: the duration of the Flood, however, is much shorter, and it is not stated that the tops of the high hills were all covered. On the whole, however, this last-mentioned version has a great resemblance to the Biblical narrative, both of them doubtless originating in the same ancient story, at first verbally handed down from father to son, and subsequently put in writing; though the Chaldæan form of it has been corrupted by passing through heathen hands, and the polytheism of an idolatrous people put in the place of the monotheism of the primitive tradition, which of course has been preserved in Holy Scripture. We are compelled here to differ from Professor Prestwich, who, adopting a theory which we believe we may call an exploded theory, thinks that the process was the reverse of what we have stated, and that it was "the Hebrew narrative" that was "adapted from the Babylonian records, with such alterations as would fit it to a different religious belief." "The Jewish writers," he adds, "have substituted for the polytheism of the Chaldæans the monotheism of their own countrymen."* From this and some other remarks that he makes, it is apparent that Professor Prestwich does not believe in the inspiration of Holy Scripture; but the independent testimony that he bears, while writing from a purely scientific standpoint, to the essential truth of the great tradition is none the less valuable, and indeed some would say all the more valuable, as coming from an unbiassed mind. He has clearly been struck forcibly with the existence of the tradition, and has consequently examined the scientific evidence

* We read not long ago, in some infidel or agnostic writer, that the Early Hebrews were in fact polytheists, and the sacred books were originally cast in a polytheistic form, but were altered at a later period, and made to suit the monotheism then engrafted on the exploded system of idolatry. Such are the speculations, antagonistic and contradictory, of modern unbelievers.

in order to see whether it corresponds with the old belief, or otherwise. The result appears in a small, but most interesting volume, the substance of which we shall endeavour to explain. Before doing so, however, we may observe that there is no one more competent than the author of this work to investigate the evidence afforded by geology and to appreciate its true value. In a critique of a former work of his, published in a scientific paper some months ago, he is spoken of as "the acknowledged *doyen* among British geologists"; and he has occupied the professorial chair at Oxford (though he has now retired) in which formerly sat men such as Buckland and Phillips. The first of these two eminent men (like others of that date) endeavoured to prove or to corroborate the history of the Deluge by certain geological phenomena observed by him, but which have in many instances been explained, and perhaps better explained, in other ways. When that was found to be the case, a reaction occurred, and geology seemed to ignore the Deluge altogether, it being frequently asserted that there was no evidence of its having passed over the surface of the land at the period recorded. The present work is a remarkable reaction in the other direction. It must be borne in mind that Buckland fully believed in Scripture, and defended the whole Biblical narrative, even the universality, *strictly speaking*, of the Deluge—an opinion not now generally held to be a necessary inference from the scriptural record, and one which he himself is said to have afterwards abandoned. "They endeavoured," Professor Prestwich says, speaking of Buckland and others, "to explain not only the destruction of life, but also such physical impossibilities as the universality of the Deluge, and the story of the Ark and its contents." Now here again we feel called upon to join issue with our author, and to ask what is there impossible in the story of the Ark? It was surely possible to construct such a vessel, though the fact of its being built beforehand points clearly to Divine guidance, as it never could have been got ready for use suddenly, after the Flood had once commenced. A question may be raised as to the number and variety of the animals preserved in it, but that is not an essential point. The late Professor Huxley, in an article written a few years ago in the *Nineteenth Century*, made a difficulty about the drifting of the Ark helplessly, without

rudder or oar, or other guidance ; but the scriptural history does not state that it was so left to drift, nor does it deny the existence of oars, sail, or rudder, though it does not explicitly allude to them. We have already observed that the Babylonian and Greek versions agree with that in Scripture in attributing the preservation of the human family that escaped to an ark or ship in which they took refuge. It is in fact an important feature in the tradition.

As to the universality of the Deluge, in the full sense of the words, we doubt if even that is a physical impossibility. The great difficulty in accepting it is a biological one ; if no animals were preserved excepting those in the Ark, then we must either suppose a fresh creation, or else evolution on a scale so extensive and so rapid, as neither Darwin nor any of his followers ever imagined.

But we need not dwell on this, for we doubt if any writer in modern times, whose opinion deserves attention, maintains the universality of the Deluge in this sense : and indeed some authors, whose orthodoxy is incontestable, have allowed that we are not necessarily bound to believe that it was strictly speaking universal, even with respect to the whole human race. In the last number of this REVIEW, in a short notice of Father Hummelauer's Commentary on Genesis, it is stated that this learned Jesuit leaves the question an open one.

Professor Prestwich's hypothesis—and it is to be remembered that he only states it as a very probable hypothesis, open to further investigation—is as follows :—A submergence on a very large scale took place about 10,000 or 12,000 years ago, or perhaps less. The effect of this on the people who witnessed it, and who did not perceive the gradual sinking of the land beneath them, was that of a vast inrush of waters, flooding the plains, and leaving only the tops of very high hills uncovered ; men and animals fled, so far as they possibly could, to the high ground, the greater number being overtaken and drowned, while some escaped and reached the hill-tops, and after the sunken land rose again these fugitives returned and re-peopled the earth, that is, the large portion of it that had been flooded : the whole process took but a comparatively short time, the emergence being more rapid in some places than in others : an alteration in the level of the land was the result in

some places of the catastrophe, and very possibly a change of climate took place.

It will perhaps be in the recollection of our readers that Sir Henry Howorth published a few years ago a work called the "Mammoth and the Flood," in which he went partly over the same ground that our present author does; it attracted a good deal of attention at the time and was noticed by the magazines and literary papers, amongst others in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* in an article proceeding, as we were led to believe, from the pen of an accomplished Catholic lady. It is remarkable that Professor Prestwich does not allude to this work, so that we must consider his present treatise as an entirely independent judgment on the phenomena he has observed, and which have led him to the same conclusion as Sir Henry Howorth, viz., that the remains of animals, and particularly the mammoth, point to their having been suddenly destroyed by a vast deluge. As, however, the Professor does not touch on the work of Sir Henry Howorth, we shall so far follow him and confine our remarks to the treatise at present before us.

Professor Prestwich does not, we may add, lay any particular stress on the remains of the Mammoth, but mentions it among other animals. We now proceed to lay before our readers the substance of his argument, the principle of which is the one so well known in scientific investigation—that certain geological phenomena, which cannot otherwise be satisfactorily explained, are exactly what we should expect to find, supposing this theory to be true.

A preliminary objection, however, has to be met: there arose some years ago a geological school, of whose opinions the late Sir Charles Lyell was perhaps the leading exponent, and whose doctrine was that no great catastrophes had ever taken place; and that the facts which the geological record unfolds to us were all explicable by the operation of agencies precisely similar to those that we now see working—thus involving (as Professor Prestwich expresses it) "the assumption of uniformity in degree in all time." This doctrine is not generally maintained by the more recent school of modern geology; and the author of the work before us discards it, and states that up to the very date of the submergence "described in the follow-

ing pages, the crust of the earth was in a very mobile state"—a fact "proved by the presence of raised beaches with shells of existing species at elevations of 10 feet, 100, and up to 600 feet or more."

The circumstance "that the species of shells are recent throughout" is particularly to be noted, as proving the comparatively modern date of these upheavals.

Leaving for the present the question how many men and how many animals escaped—on the assumption that this great submergence took place—a great number of creatures of various kinds in their flight before the advancing Flood would certainly have been overtaken and drowned.

Now large fissures have been found in different, and indeed widely different, places, and in some cases on isolated hills of considerable height: in these fissures there have been discovered a great quantity of animal remains, not entire skeletons, but broken bones, singularly fresh, few of them being in their relative position, and none of them gnawed by carnivora. In England fissures of this character are common in the limestone rocks near Plymouth; they exist in the Cretaceous and Jurassic limestones in the South of France, and in certain high hills in Central France; also in parts of Italy, and in Sicily, where in the cave of San Ciro, near Palermo, an enormous quantity of hippopotamus bones have been discovered—and at the Rock of Gibraltar, in the limestone ranges of the North African Coast and elsewhere.

If then as the land emerged after the catastrophe, "the effluent waters swept into the open fissures the *débris* of the old land surface, together with the remains of the drowned animals, with more or less force and violence"—the result would be precisely as we find it.

When the surface-rubble was not "caught as it were *in transitu*," it would be swept down to lower levels, so as to form banks of breccia on the slopes and at the base of the hills. It sometimes, however, happened that at the sea-coast, owing to the land having stood at a lower level before the submergence than after it was over, there would be formed a "Raised Beach" fronting the cliffs at a height varying from 10 to 30 feet above the present beach; then "as the land *débris* shot over the old cliffs it fell on the 'Raised Beach,' and when

the cliffs were not too high this mass of rubble entirely masked them, and formed a surface flush with the surface of the ground above the cliff." In this rubble animal remains have been found, and also delicate land-shells. There appear to be many examples of it on the south coast of England, at Cape Blanc Nez near Calais, where also some palæolithic implements have been found; at other places on the French coast, and in the Channel Islands. The term *Head* has been technically applied to it, when it forms an overlying mass in the manner just described—though it does not actually differ from the rubble on the slopes of inland hills.

This so-called "Head" does not generally contain very much in the way of organic remains, but the bones of some land animals have been found there—the Mammoth, the Woolly Rhinoceros, the Horse, the Bison, the Reindeer, the Wild Boar, the Wolf, the Spotted Hyæna, and the Bear being amongst them; land-shells have also been found, all of recent species.

To appreciate fully the evidence adduced to show the probability of the great submergence, it is necessary, of course, to read through the short treatise (for such it is) that we are reviewing; we can but give here a certain number of the principal points on which the author relies. He goes on to say that the considerations to which he has alluded, together with the circumstance that the rubble contains the remains of a *land fauna only*, have led him to infer that the south of England had been submerged "at the close of the Post-Glacial period to the depth of not less than about 1000 ft., for to that height there are traces of this rubble drift." He also infers that the submergence was comparatively slow and gradual, but the upheaval was by movements alternately slow and rapid; also that the submergence was of too short duration to allow of marine sedimentation, or of marine shells being left on the submerged area.

In France there are said to be several accumulations of what is termed "osseous breccias," one striking example occurring "near Semur, where a hill (Mont Genay) 1430 ft. high has apparently been entirely submerged, and a bank of breccia, derived from the rocks which cap its summit, and containing the remains of the Mammoth, Reindeer, Horse, &c., with land-shells, has been formed on its flanks."

Another large mass of ossiferous breccia was met with near Mentone, in a cutting of the railway, where it passes under limestone cliffs, in which is situated the cave of Baussi Roussi. In this breccia were found teeth of the Cave Bear and Spotted Hyæna, together with flints worked by Man.

In most of the instances in which we find fissures with animal remains, the hills where they are situated rise in the midst of plains or low grounds; in one case, that of the Montagne de Santenay, the height being about 1640 ft.; this is a flat-topped hill near Chalons-sur-Saône, and the question has arisen why so many wolves, bears, horses, and oxen should have ascended an isolated hill? If it was in a futile attempt to escape drowning, that makes it intelligible. The breccia to which allusion has been made "is composed of sharp angular fragments of the local rocks, imbedded in a matrix of red clay or loam, and is generally cemented by calcite." It may be added that the remains at Santenay "are evidently not those of animals devoured by beasts of prey; nor have they been broken by man." It is not credible that animals of such different natures and different habitats, as the Cave Lion, Bear, Rhinoceros, Horse, Ox, and Deer could ever in life have herded together.

Now if this widespread submergence, and the Flood which it produced, are to be accepted as facts, we may also expect to find other traces of the turbid waters on the land so submerged. And it happens that there is a sedimentary deposit called "loess," divisible into two classes—one well known to geologists and attributable to the melting of the glaciers and snow which once descended to a large extent from all the great mountain ranges of Europe: it is probable that annual inundations took place from this cause, bringing down great quantities of mud and silt, which were deposited on the flanks of the chief river valleys. This state of things existed at the close of the Glacial period, and the effects of it are to be seen in the *fluvial* loess of the valleys of the Rhine, Danube, and other rivers.

But it appears that there is another and larger deposit of loess found on the dividing watersheds and high plains separating the river basins, in some cases at altitudes of 1300 and even 1500 ft. and more. The author holds that this was probably deposited by the ocean waters, which as they advanced

over the surface of the submerged land would take up large portions of the older fluviatile loess, while at the same time the ice and snow on the mountains would melt and add their glacial silt to the mud-laden flood. On the subsequent uplift of the land, much of this sediment might be swept away by the effluent waters, but much would nevertheless remain, and present the appearance it now does: it seems, moreover, that in certain districts of Belgium the loess is impregnated with salt, which so far corroborates this hypothesis.

Professor Prestwich, however, looks upon the case of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey "as a crucial test in favour of the submergence hypothesis." These islands consist of hard slate and granitic rocks 300 or 400 ft. high, forming plateaux ending generally in high cliffs fronting the shore. A deposit of brick earth or loess is frequently found on these plateaux, and the cliffs are fringed by the remnants of a raised beach, probably in former times continuous all round the islands; the fragments now remaining are covered by a "head" from 10 to 30 ft. thick "embedded in a matrix of the loess from the plateau." To what then is this loess to be attributed? Not to inundations of rivers, for there are none; nor to rainwash, for there is no ground higher than these plateaux; nor to any glacial flood on the Continent, for Guernsey and Jersey are islands and were so at the time the deposit took place. "On the other hand, the hypothesis of a submergence perfectly meets all the conditions." The turbid waters deposited the sediment on the surface, and as the land rose again, divergent currents carried before them the more exposed portions of the loess, together with fragments of underlying rocks, and precipitated this mass of rubble over the cliffs on to the old beach below. The author gives a diagram-section showing the position of the loess and rubble-drift, and of the raised beach; and he remarks that this case of the Channel Islands "fulfils all the conditions of the problem in a way no other interpretation of the phenomena admits of."

In Spain and Portugal the traces of the raised beach and head are few, owing to the force of the Atlantic on the western coasts of the Peninsula, but they are sufficient to show that both the beach and the head were continued originally to the Straits of Gibraltar. But the Rock itself is highly instructive.

Indeed the physical history of the Rock of Gibraltar is almost as varied and eventful as its political or military record. It was in all probability in ancient times joined by a land passage to the African coast, which would account for the remains of the animals found either on the Rock or in the Quaternary deposits of Spain, such as the Spotted Hyæna, the Panther, and the Elephant; it would also perhaps, we may add, account for the still living colony of Barbary Apes, though these are not all indigenous, having been recruited in recent times by importation from Africa; subsequently the Rock was an island about 800 feet high, and rose by successive stages to its present height, which is 1370 feet above the sea. Professor Prestwich believes that the whole or greater part of the Rock was submerged, and "that as it rose again, currents swept off its surface the mass of angular *débris* spread out at its base." On the western side this *débris* now forms "in the lower grounds a breccia in some places 100 feet thick, and extending to and under the sea." The fissures that intersect the Rock have been filled with a similar breccia, in which the remains of various animals have been found, such as the Panther, Lynx, Hyæna, Wolf, Bear, Rhinoceros, Horse, Deer, Ox, and others; the bones are mostly broken into fragments, and none of them gnawed as if by carnivorous animals. It is supposed that the Deer, the Horse, and Ox lived in the adjacent plains, and that a great and common danger, such as the Flood, drove together these and the others which inhabited the crags and caves of the Rock. When the emergence took place, the *débris* consisting of disintegrated limestone formed, with the scattered remains of drowned men and animals, a huge body of rubble. There are, however, certain cavities in the older breccia in which the more recent fauna have been found, and in these cases the bones are worn and gnawed.

In Corsica and Sardinia, in Istria and in Dalmatia, similar phenomena exist, sometimes less definite in their character, also in Italy, particularly in the neighbourhood of Genoa and Leghorn; so again in south-eastern Europe and Greece, in which latter country the rubble-beds are said to be largely developed; whilst in Crete, among several raised beaches of Quaternary age, there is one 65 feet above the sea level; there is also in this island evidence that the movements of the

ground have been continued down to recent times, the west side of the island having been raised 26 feet within the historical period, and the east coast having subsided; in one place, we are told, "there is a calcareous breccia overlying a raised beach, similar to those on the coast of the English Channel."

There is, however, one large Mediterranean Island, deserving to be specially mentioned, namely Sicily: here, in the vicinity of Palermo, occurs an osseous breccia, in which have been found, together with the remains of some few other animals, an extraordinary quantity of bones of Hippopotami. "Twenty tons of these bones were shipped from around the one cave of San Ciro, near Palermo, so fresh that they were sent to Marseilles to furnish animal charcoal for use in the sugar factories." It appears that the plain of Palermo is encircled by an amphitheatre of high hills; and our author conjectures that when the island was submerged, the animals in the plain retreated, as the waters advanced, deeper into the amphitheatre of hills, crushing eventually into the more accessible caves and swarming over the ground at their entrance, until overtaken and destroyed. A few of the more agile animals may have escaped to the higher ground, the Hippopotami, however, all perishing. Then as the land emerged, rocky *débris* and large blocks from the sides of the hills were probably hurled down by the current of water, crushing and smashing the bones. The great number of Hippopotami gives strength to the conjecture made by some geologists that there was formerly a connection with Africa by an elevation of the Mediterranean area; so that this vast inland sea was once divided into two large lakes, cut off from any communication with the ocean.* The author observes that "the extremely fresh condition of the bones" and "the fact that animals of all ages were involved in the catastrophe, shows that the event was geologically comparatively recent, as other facts show it to have been sudden."

Malta appears to have been entirely submerged, not a single

* This hypothesis has been controverted on the ground that the hippopotamus is an amphibious animal and is at home in the water: that is true in the case of a river which he knows and where he is in his depth; but surely not of a vast deluge of sea-water.

genus or species of its Quaternary Mammalia being now found to be living on the island. It was then as now isolated, judging from the remains of animals found there; the escarped rocks on the south side of the island have their lower part covered with a consolidated red breccia, in which have been found remains of the pigmy elephant, which, together with a small variety of the Hippopotamus, inhabited Malta in those bygone days. Several ossiferous fissures have been discovered on the hills, containing animal remains, including fragments of bones of very large aquatic birds and of a variety of the dormouse of gigantic size.

In Asia Minor and Syria the geological phenomena above mentioned are much less striking, so far as these countries have hitherto been investigated; and Professor Prestwich raises the question whether "at this eastern end of the Mediterranean the submergence was of less importance?" In Egypt there is no distinct evidence of the submergence: and several animals that lived in western Europe and north-western Africa before the time of the rubble-drift, and disappeared afterwards, survived here in the Nile Valley to historic times, The author then supposes that it is very possible that the submergence did not extend to Egypt; though on this point he "would speak with all reserve."

On the north-western coast of Africa (including Algeria in that term) there is evidence of the same character as on the northern coasts of the Mediterranean; at Tangier there is a raised beach about 40 feet high; at Oran one of about 20 feet above the sea level, and "above this a breccia of angular fragments of slate and limestone." There are also large fissures in the limestone rocks, filled with a breccia containing animal remains. As we go eastward, beyond Tunis and Tripoli, little or no evidence of the submergence is to be found.

Professor Prestwich says nothing of those parts of Asia east of Syria and Palestine, and of the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf. We presume that they have not yet been carefully examined by competent geologists; but if the tradition of the Deluge, whether Hebrew or Chaldean, is to be relied on, these countries are the last that we could possibly suppose to have escaped.

In concluding his statement of proof, the author anticipates an objection that may be made to the effect that you do not find *marine* deposits on the once-deluged area; but if, as he supposes, the submergence was slow the "advance of the waters would not have force sufficient to carry before them any of the objects on the shore," or even if it could do so, the turbid and de-oxidised state of the waters would have destroyed animal life, so that the remains, if any, would decay and be lost.

It is to be remarked that the waters, as they rose, failed to destroy the beaches over which they passed or to wash away the blown sands which in some places overlie the raised beaches; everything seems to show that the advance of the flood was progressive, owing to the slow and continuous sinking of the land—*slow*, that is, comparatively speaking, not in the sense that it took years to accomplish. Then after a short lull the elevatory movement commenced—most probably "by a continuous movement, sometimes very slow, and at others more or less rapid, and ending with one of greater rapidity." The force of the effluent current, sweeping animal remains and *débris* into the fissures on the surface of the land, has been already alluded to, as also has the remarkable fact that the bones in the osseous rubble and in the fissures, "mostly splintered into hundreds of fragments," are not "weathered, worn, or gnawed"—their condition in this respect differing from that which obtains in the other known drifts.

All the organic remains, properly so-called, belong to the same geological period—the late Quaternary or Pleistocene. A further proof, moreover, of the unity of the whole of the phenomena is afforded by the coincidence of the date of formation of the rents in the rocks with that of the ossiferous breccia lodged in them; for if these fissures had been open at an earlier period there would have been a lower stratum of animal remains belonging to an older type and the breccia would have been less homogeneous in character; whereas the fact is otherwise in both cases. The author therefore concludes "that the dispersion of the surface *débris*, the formation of the ossiferous fissures, the accumulation of the 'head,' and the local ablations of the rocks, are the necessary results of the submergence and subsequent re-elevation of the land."

One more very interesting question remains, and that is the probable date of this mighty catastrophe. Professor Prestwich says: "We are here confronted with very contradictory opinions." Assuming the Deluge to have occurred in Post-Glacial times, at the close of what geologists term the Palæolithic period; if we endeavour to ascertain when that was, we at once meet with a theory elaborated by the late Dr. Croll, and since then defended and in some respects amended by Sir Robert Ball. According to these writers the Glacial Period depended on astronomical considerations, which may be briefly stated thus—the length of the summer half-year in the northern hemisphere (from the March equinox to that in September) exceeds that of the winter half-year by about a week; this, however, was not always so in times past, nor will it be so in the future; owing to a curious movement of the earth's axis, similar to the reeling movement of a spinning-top, and owing also to a gradual shifting of what is termed the *line of apsides* of the earth's orbit, at a certain period which we may state as having been 10,500 years ago, it was the winter-half in our hemisphere, which was the longer one. Still, as things now are, the difference of cold and heat would not be very great; but at another period far more remote, the earth's orbit was more eccentric than it is at present, and the difference between the winter and summer halves of the year amounted to a month or more. When it happened, then (as would be the case every 10,500 years), that the northern hemisphere had, for a time of some considerable duration, year after year, so long a winter and so short a summer, notwithstanding the great heat of this latter, there might easily be such an accumulation of ice and snow extending some way south of the Polar regions, as would cause what is called the Glacial Period. Sir Robert Ball has calculated this carefully, and has shown how perfectly possible it is. It would occupy some space to go into a detailed explanation of the astronomical causes of which the facts just mentioned are the result; but they are admitted on all sides to be true in themselves, the only question being whether the Glacial Period was actually due to them, or to some geological or geographical causes of a totally different kind. Professor Prestwich says, "According to Croll's last estimate, the Glacial Period commenced 240,000 years ago, and ended with the Post-Glacial

80,000 years ago." That involves a vast interval between the Palæolithic and Neolithic times. "Were that the case," he continues, "there ought to be some geological evidence either in the form of sedimentary deposits, or of work done in the excavation of valleys; I fail to find either" . . . "the stratigraphical evidence shows that they follow quickly in immediate succession. The deposits of the two periods [Palæolithic and Neolithic] are, in fact, separated merely by a few feet (and that only in places) of rubble drift from one another;" and this drift, he explains, requires but a short time for its formation.

Now if the lapse of time since the formation of this detrital bed were known, we might arrive at the approximate date of the great submergence. One scale of measurement the author finds in the Alluvial beds of the valley of the Thames and others in the South of England; and though there is great difficulty in making an accurate estimate, he infers that the age of these Alluvial beds "is to be measured not by tens of thousands but by tens of hundreds of years."

The extent of denudation or wearing back of the rubble-drift of the "head," which has been caused by the action of the sea since it was first formed, offers a better scale for calculating time. Not that any really accurate estimate can be formed even so; but a fairly good approximation may be made if we know the extent that the coast-line has receded since the great submergence, and also if we know the present rate of wear of the cliffs. Professor Prestwich estimates this latter at something between one and three feet annually, and the loss of land on the South Coast, generally speaking, at a breadth between one and two miles; this, however, is in districts occupied by soft cretaceous and other strata; where there are hard Palæozoic rocks, the extent of wear of the land is very much less: putting all together then, he computes that the total loss of land would come between the limits of 6000 and 12,000 years: "these tentative estimates," he further states, "are in accordance with the conclusion I had arrived at on other grounds, that the Glacial (including the Post-Glacial) Period together with the Palæolithic man, came within 10,000 to 12,000 years of our own time." He adds to this an observation that some of the most eminent American geologists,

judging from independent data of a different character, have formed an opinion "that the Glacial Period came down to within 8000 to 10,000 years of our times."

These figures form a startling contrast to those which recorded the immense periods of time demanded by the Uniformitarian School of Geologists, who some thirty years ago seemed to be carrying everything before them. Dr. Croll, who was an able man, moderate and reasonable in his opinions in other ways, put the Post-Glacial period as far back as 80,000 years; while Professor Prestwich, as we have just seen, brings it down to some time between 10,000 and 12,000 years from our own era.

We presume, too, that the arguments which have been used for the great antiquity of man upon the earth will be considerably modified by these revised estimates of time; but this is a wide question, and one into which we must not now enter, as it forms no part of our present inquiry.

In conclusion, the author of this really remarkable treatise calls our attention to the coincidence of the facts he has laid before us, as also of some other phenomena, with the events recorded in the "narrative of the Flood, whether in the Biblical or Babylonian versions." There is the same *apparent* gradual rise of the waters, caused, in fact, by the slow and imperceptible sinking of the land; the same extensive destruction of life; and the transient character of the submergence. That man lived then on the earth is now a well-established fact; for although only a comparatively small quantity of human remains have been discovered, the existence of man in various places during the Quaternary period has been revealed by the stone tools and weapons that he employed. Man, therefore, must have largely shared the fate of the numerous animals that perished in the waters.

In allusion to the attempt made by some writers—of whom, we may remark, the late Professor Huxley was one—to account for the tradition of the Deluge by supposing it to have originated in one of those inundations, of exceptionally great extent, that occur periodically in the valley of the Euphrates, Professor Prestwich points out the inadequacy of this explanation. There is no record of such a flood in recent or historical times; and in the valley of the Euphrates, where annual inundations causing a rise of the river from about 17 to 22 feet, do

really happen, the towns and villages are generally built on rising ground, so as to avoid danger and disaster. In fact, no river-flood, however devastating, could have left such a deep and lasting impression on the people, as the tradition clearly indicates.

Such, then, is the judgment of this learned and able geologist; and such the evidence on which it is based. We have endeavoured, at the risk of wearying the patience of our readers, to give a fair *précis* of the author's arguments, to some extent in his own words, because the importance of the subject fully justified us in doing so, and because we were thus enabled to give a far better statement of the case than we could have done by casting it in words of our own into the form of an independent or critical essay. Geology is one of those sciences which cannot be grasped properly by mere students of books; others may be so, as, for instance, physical astronomy, which can be mastered within the four walls of a study by any thoroughly competent mathematician; but to be a good geologist you must go out with hammer and chisel into the fields and river-valleys and amongst the rocks. We leave then to others the task of criticising the details of Professor Prestwich's arguments; and we do not doubt that this will be performed, more or less, by some of the remaining adherents of the Uniformitarian School of Geology. One objection will, perhaps, be taken on account of the very great extent of the submergence which the hypothesis involves; but if, as the author thinks, the crust of the earth was, at the time, in a very mobile condition—far more so than at present—this circumstance would greatly reduce the difficulty of supposing it. The only other natural cause which we can imagine for a great deluge, and that by no means a certain one, is a sudden and important shifting of the earth's axis of rotation: this might result in a great flow of water towards the (new) equatorial regions and a very extensive though transitory deluge; but the general, though not universal, opinion of astronomers and other scientific men is that no important change in the position of the earth's axis of rotation has ever taken place.* Unless then we are prepared

* We say *important* because there is a minute displacement constantly going on of the axis of rotation, which does not coincide exactly with the earth's axis of figure, round which it seems to perform a periodical revolution. We

to discard not only the Scriptural record of the Deluge, but also the widely extended tradition of its occurrence, it appears to us that we have no alternative but to accept Professor Prestwich's hypothesis. We must, of course, remember that our author, with that prudence and modesty which are distinctive notes of the true scientific spirit, avoids dogmatising on such a subject and presents his case as a hypothesis, but one which there is every reason to believe to be true, since the consequences resulting from the supposition of its truth have, as he tells us, agreed in a remarkable manner with the observed facts. That the inferences he has drawn will be disputed by other geologists we do not doubt; indeed, as we write, we notice that a brief criticism (expressed in friendly and respectful language) has already appeared in a scientific paper, and some explanations have been suggested, differing from those which he has given. We must, however, always bear in mind what the position of the author is, how much he undertakes to prove, how much he does not undertake. It is obvious from the very nature of the case that a rigid demonstration is not to be expected; but Professor Prestwich brings to bear upon the question that power of inductive reasoning by which so many truths in physical science have been established. The tradition of the Flood exists and has to be accounted for: a number of geological phenomena also exist, and can be well explained by a certain theory—namely, a subsidence of the land on a very extensive scale and a consequent in-rush of the sea; followed after a brief interval by the emergence of the land. If, then, such a hypothesis meets the requirements both of the tradition and of the geological record, it must surely be allowed to possess a high degree of probability. Supposing even some of the phenomena in question can be well explained in other ways, that may indeed lessen the force of the argument in detail, but yet not really militate against the conclusion. The fact that many astronomical phenomena can be explained, and indeed have been explained, by the old system of Ptolemy, has not prevented the triumphant establishment of the Copernican theory of the earth's motion.

believe that the cause of this curious phenomenon has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

The points to which we have alluded must, of course, be left to the judgment of professed geologists; but we may venture to say that we do not ourselves believe that the arguments of a man of so great experience and ability as Professor Prestwich will be seriously shaken even in detail. It is almost needless to remark how deeply we regret the manner in which he alludes to the Scriptural narrative; we, as Catholics, regard it as the genuine history of this great event, whilst we consider the Babylonian and other versions to be corruptions of the original tradition, in so far as they differ in any essential respect, such as the introduction of polytheism, from the record of Holy Scripture. At the same time, as we have already observed, we value highly the independent testimony which our author has borne to the substantial truth of the story; of which we may truly say that, varied though its details may have been in passing through the hands of tribes and nations differing in religion and customs, it yet receives a concurrence of testimony from them all, sufficient to show that the Flood was no mere local inundation of the Euphrates or any other river, but rather a physical catastrophe of vast magnitude, such as at no other time has ever befallen mankind. In conclusion, we venture to say that we expect one good result from the publication of Professor Prestwich's treatise, and that is that the flippant style of speaking of the Deluge, said to have been adopted in recent times by some who might, one would suppose, have known better, will henceforth be dropped; and another still greater advantage in the lesson which good and faithful Christians may here learn, not to allow their belief in the sacred records to be lightly undermined by plausible theories advanced in the name of science, but to wait patiently till the apparent difficulties have been solved by fuller investigation; and lastly, we hope that not even Protestant missionaries will, as in the well-known instance of Bishop Colenso, permit their confidence in the scriptural narrative to be shaken by the crude scepticism of a Zulu disciple.

F. R. WEGG-PROSSER.

ART. IX.—THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES AND THE REFORMATION.

Die Universitäten Englands im 16 Jahrhundert. Von ATHANASIUS ZIMMERMANN, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1889.

The Romance Lecture, 1892. An Academic Sketch. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1892.

THE decision of the Holy See of April 2, 1895,* removing the ecclesiastical embargo hitherto laid upon the access of our Catholic students to the national universities will mark the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Catholic education, or, to put it perhaps more correctly, indicates the closing of an era which has lasted for some three centuries. It will be fittingly recorded in history as signalling the same year of grace which has seen the publication of the Apostolic Letter, "Ad Anglos." We are much too near both events to properly appreciate their significance and probable results. We cannot be mistaken in thinking that both will one day be estimated as of unusual magnitude.

At any rate, the mind is irresistibly carried back, across the desolate span of three hundred years of prescription and persecution, to the times when the two national universities were not only accessible to Catholic students, but were themselves Catholic institutions in as true a sense as Louvain and Washington and Fribourg are at the present day. To some minds this will not be so easy to realise. Every Catholic boy and girl knows how we have been robbed of our grand old cathedrals, and a visit to Canterbury, York, or Lincoln recalls memories of a glorious past, associated with a keen sense of loss, even to the least imaginative mind. But somehow or other we seem almost to have forgotten that Oxford and Cambridge are as truly lost heirlooms of our Church, so identified have they become with the ideas of Protestantism,

* *Tablet*, April 27, 1895, p. 647.

or even of free-thought and scepticism. Yet the material and artistic loss of our beautiful cathedrals, great as it was, has been far less than the intellectual loss of the ancient seats of learning, the homes of culture and the national schools of theology. It seems appropriate at this juncture to rehearse the sad history of the process by which these national universities were lost to the Catholic Church, not without a long and gallant struggle. To do this in a brief and commodious manner, we purpose to select as our guide the short and excellent monograph of Father Zimmermann, S.J., published already some six years ago, but which, like too many admirable publications of its kind bearing upon English church history, has not yet found a translator in England or America.* Father Zimmermann will prove a conscientious and reliable guide. He has diligently utilised the best sources of information up to the time of his writing—Father Gasquet's star had not yet appeared above the horizon—and, as every page shows, has carefully and critically digested both the older authorities, like Wood, Cooper, Dugdale, or Spelman, and the modern ones, like Mullinger, Brewer, Bridgett, or Seeböhm. This will serve as an excuse for presenting in this paper little more than the summary of a book, itself not exceeding one hundred and forty pages in extent.

I.

Mr. Gladstone's curious and ingenious contention in his brilliant Romanes Lecture that the universities of the early Middle Ages were the outcome of "a great systematic effort [of the] lay mind to achieve self-assertion and emancipation,"†

* There is ample opening for the publication of a whole library of valuable monographs, for instance, on English Churchmen, translated from foreign languages. I will instance only a few:—Abbé Martin, "St. Etienne Harding et les premiers Recenseurs de la Vulgate" (Amiens, 1887); "La Vulgate latine d'après Roger Bacon" (Paris, 1888); and ["Etienne Langton et] le Texte parisien de la Vulgate" (in the *Muséon*, 1889-90); Dr. J. Felten, "Robert Grosseteste, Bischof von Lincoln" (Freiburg i. B., 1887); Dr. K. Werner, "Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit." (Wien, 1875); "Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert" (Paderborn, 1876); Alberdingk Thijm, "H. Willibrordus Apostel der Nederlanden" (Amsterdam, 1861). Here are able and scholarly studies, all comparatively short, of seven great English Churchmen, all well deserving of translation and publication. It seems a pity they should not be better known and utilised in this country.

† P. 10.

as against the predominance of ecclesiasticism, hardly commended itself at the time to his hearers,* and probably will not do so to his readers at the present moment. It is, indeed, highly probable that the early universities, like Topsy, mostly "grewed." Zimmermann altogether discountenances the old-fashioned idea that they were a continuation of either the old cathedral or monastic schools, from which they differed not only in the subjects and methods of study, but still more in their entire organisation. Mr. Gladstone opines that the Papal authority "may" have been used "as a defensive measure to keep in check the separate action of the lay element." But although it may be true enough that the very earliest universities, such as Salerno or Bologna, as well as Oxford and Cambridge—ten altogether, according to Mr. Gladstone—were called into existence before either papal or regal authority began to intervene, yet there does not seem to be much evidence for the supposed organised system of "emancipation." The more probable solution appears to be that these schools, sprung from what Mr. Gladstone more happily styles "professional exigencies," were at first under local episcopal control. Green, indeed, by whom Mr. Gladstone seems to some extent to have been influenced, points out that at first the Chancellor of Oxford was simply the local officer of the Bishop of Lincoln; † but that later on, "Popes, seeing in them the possibility of an intellectual tool and weapon that the Church needed, gave them privileges and immunities." ‡ Be this as it may, the early

* "Unless the accepted view in these matters has been modified by very recent researches, the accepted view is not quite that of Mr. Gladstone," is the sensible criticism of a very scholarly article in the *Manchester Guardian* of October 25, 1892, evidently from an able but anonymous pen.

† "History of the English People," book iii. chap. i. (Library edition, vol. i. p. 205.)

‡ The most recent, as well as the most complete statement of the origins of the European universities before 1400 is that of the great historian of these universities, Father Denifle, O.P. His conclusions may thus be summed up. Four categories may be made according to the manner of foundation—(1st) the eleven which arose without any formal diploma of foundation, some of these being the outcome of pre-existing ecclesiastical schools; among these are some of the most illustrious of all, including Paris, Bologna, and Oxford. (2nd) Sixteen created exclusively by papal diploma, among which Denifle places Cambridge. (3rd) Ten created exclusively by imperial and royal charters. (4th) Nine, created simultaneously by both papal and royal decrees ("Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400," von H. Denifle, vol. i. pp. xlv, 814). These significant statistics confirm the truth of Paulsen's dictum: "In the erection of the universities there was formerly absolute liberty, not outside of the Church, but inside the Church, and the Church blessed without reserve

English universities, although true "republics of letters," were thoroughly Catholic institutions, and for all practical purposes may be styled ecclesiastical ones. The famous "secession" of the students in 1209 is the first certain date in the history of Oxford, whose foundation almost certainly preceded that of Cambridge. From the first the history of both universities was intimately bound up with all that was best and holiest in the English Church. The Oxford career of St. Edmund Rich, so beautifully told by Green,* falls between 1219 and 1226, and it was the saint of Abingdon who first taught Aristotle at Oxford. But it is more especially with the coming of the friars of the Orders of both St. Dominic and St. Francis that the early glories of Oxford are so intimately bound up. It was immediately after his second general Chapter in 1221 that Brother Dominic despatched his first party of friars to England, and it was at Oxford, at the Feast of the Assumption, that they first settled and opened schools. Very soon learned men flocked to their Order, including Robert Bacon, uncle or brother of the still more famous Roger, and his dearest friend, Richard Fishacre, "the most learned among the learned," as Ireland calls him, and who ever carried the works of Aristotle in his bosom; also Robert Kilwardby, eminent as philosopher and theologian, a future Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal; and John of St. Giles, called by Matthew Paris "a man skilful in the art of medicine, a great professor of divinity, and excellently learned." In 1229 took place another curious "secession" of students, this time to Oxford, from the mother-University of Paris, as a protest against the violation of certain privileges. Among these were the Dominicans of St. James' Convent, and with them their General, Blessed Jordan, who wrote to the nuns at Bologna, "Our Lord gives me hopes of making a good capture in the University of Oxford, where I now am." The Dominicans, indeed, contributed some of its brightest ornaments to the university.† But, as Mr. Gladstone points out,

and with equal affection both the good she did herself and the good which was done in her" (see P. Berthier, O.P., "*Projets anciens des hautes Etudes catholiques en Suisse*").

* *Op. cit.*

† See the late Mother Augusta Theodosia Drane's admirable "History of St. Dominic," chap. xxxii. pp. 442-446, on the Friars Preachers at Oxford.

the greatest names belonging to Oxford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are not of the Order of Saint Dominic, to whom Dante awards the intellectual brightness of the cherub (*Paradiso*, xi. 39-41), but in the ranks of the seraphic Francis, who could not abide the world, even in its academic form.*

The Franciscan Order [he says elsewhere] gave to Oxford the larger number of those remarkable, and even epoch-making men, who secured for this university such a career of glory in mediæval times.† These men were men of English birth. But the fame of their school was such that Franciscans flocked to it, not only from Scotland and Ireland, but from France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany.

The most famous of these luminaries whom Mr. Gladstone cites in his generous eulogium on the Oxford Friars Minor, were Alexander of Hales, Adam Marsh, Archbishop Peckham, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and, greatest of all, "perhaps, the most striking British intellect of the Middle Ages," the earlier and the greater of the two Bacons, Roger.‡ Mr. Gladstone goes on to point out how the fame of the early Oxford Franciscans was consecrated by "that superlative distinction" of a special epithet attached to their names, "coin of European rather than of British currency," such as "Doctor irrefragabilis" (Alexander of Hales), "Doctor subtilis" (Scotus), "Doctor mirabilis" (Bacon), and others.§ Thus it was that the very foundations of Oxford's greatness, which won for her already, as early as 1252, the epithet "aemula Parisiensis," are owing to the two mendicant Orders,|| not merely for their own scientific achievements, but also because they stimulated by their example the secular and regular clergy. Very soon the Bishops and the Benedictines had founded colleges at Oxford. Merton, the first Oxford college, dates from 1264; the first Cambridge foundation was Peterhouse, 1274.

I have dwelt perhaps too long upon these early facts, but my object is to emphasise the essentially Catholic character of our

* *Op. cit.* p. 18. The Franciscans came to Oxford in 1225.

† *Op. cit.* p. 12.

‡ Sir John Herschel, Mr. Lewis (quoted by Mr. Gladstone), and, we may add, Prof. Jevons ("Logic," p. 229), estimate Roger above his famous namesake, Francis Lord Bacon. The same estimate of the great Franciscan is warmly maintained by Mr. J. Vellin Marmery in his book only just published, entitled "Progress of Science; its Origin, Course, Promoters, and Results" (London: Chapman & Hall, 1895), in which he spiritedly defends the Middle Ages from the old-fashioned charge of intellectual stagnation.

§ *Op. cit.* p. 19.

|| *Op. cit.* p. 17.

national universities from their inception. The same is true from the point of view of their character of discipline, so unlike what they have come to be in these last three centuries. To begin with, the ancient university offered access to the poor, even to the very poor. The penniless student athirst for knowledge was not an object of contempt, but was on a perfect level with the richest and the noblest. His life was hard enough, though he generally had sufficiency of food, and there were many charitable foundations to assist, not to pauperise, him. The discipline was severe.* The course was much longer, seven years' study was required to reach the Master's degree. Theology took ten years. The student was not merely receptive. On attaining his degree he was obliged himself to teach "cursorie." Public disputations were frequent, as still in Catholic universities and seminaries abroad. This system may have had its weak points, but it was well suited to the times. It may be questioned whether we are not slowly coming back to some part at least of the old ways of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

The opening of the fifteenth century was characterised, as our own days, by a remarkable devotion to learning on the part of the lower classes. A statute of 1406 laid down the grand principle, which the nineteenth century believes itself to have established, that it is free to any man, of whatever social rank he may be, to have his son or daughter educated in any school of the kingdom. Numerous colleges were founded during the century: Lincoln, 1427; All Souls, Magdalen, 1457; King's, 1440; Queen's, 1458; Catherine Hall, 1475; Jesus, 1497. Henry VI. and his queen were special patrons of the universities. Let it be remembered that colleges at this time were really charitable foundations to aid poorer students, and in each case established out of pious motives, for God's glory and to obtain prayers and masses for the souls of the founders. During this century also began the close connection between the universities and the great public schools, such as Winchester and Eton, so that "young men at the English universities were better prepared than elsewhere."†

* As late as 1540 undergraduates could receive the birch-rod! (Zimmermann, p. 65.)

† Zimmermann, p. 8. To the same writer we are also indebted for an [No. 16 of *Fourth Series*.]

The close of the century saw the rise of "Humanism," or the "New Learning," the cradle of which was in Italy. Oxford men, like Robert Fleming, William Grey, John Gunthorp, John Free, Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and William Selling, O.S.B., went to Italy to become learners. In 1488, three Italian humanists, one of whom was Cornelio Vitelli, were at Oxford, boarding at Magdalen College. Vitelli taught Greek to Grocyn, perhaps also to Linacre. Both these great English humanists were good and zealous Catholics. Grocyn was an ascetic, devout man, much attached to the scholastic philosophy. Linacre, distinguished for his studies in medicine, and worthy of record as the founder and first president of the Royal College of Physicians, was no less celebrated for his piety, and late in life (1509) became a priest. The illustrious pupils of Grocyn and Linacre were Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. Other eminent names among the Oxford humanists of the day were William Latimer and William Lyly, and, above all, John Colet. A Londoner (b. 1466), Colet visited Italy for purposes of study, but his strongly ascetic mind saw and realised more easily than many others the intellectual and moral dangers of the New Learning, of which, however, he himself became one of the brightest ornaments. In 1496 he returned to Oxford, and soon gained great fame and influence by his eloquence and learning, not only in Greek, but also in the interpretation of Holy Scripture. Next year we find the famous Erasmus of Rotterdam at Oxford, studying Greek under Grocyn and Linacre. Together with his friend More, with their two teachers, with Charnock and Colet, he formed the never-to-be-forgotten coterie of classical scholars which graced Oxford at the close of the fifteenth century. Up to this, as Mr. Gladstone is justified in claiming, Oxford had far and away surpassed her sister of Cambridge, giving to England nearly all her great theologians, bishops, and statesmen. Cambridge seems to have been marked by a kind of apathy. Even in Greek learning, scarce one or two names of note can be recorded.

During the following century, however, things altered, and

eventually, at least as regards humanities, the positions were almost reversed. Cambridge owes her awakening almost entirely to Blessed John Fisher. It would be useless here to repeat the well-known story of his life. Suffice it to say that, born in 1469, he entered Cambridge in 1483. As confessor of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the pious mother of Henry VII., he was soon able to exercise great influence in favour of his Alma Mater. To him is owing a novel institution, the establishment of salaried professorships, independent of the colleges. The Lady Margaret Chair of Divinity was founded at this time. The university awoke to new life and activity. In 1503, Pope Alexander VI. empowered the Chancellor to send out yearly twelve priests, either doctors of divinity or M.A.s, to preach all over England, Ireland, and Scotland. The next year Fisher himself became Chancellor. In 1506 Erasmus, probably induced by the new Chancellor, came to Cambridge. The great humanist does not appear to have had the gifts of a successful teacher. His great faults of character, too, his vanity, frivolity, love of ridicule and invective, all of which render his testimony about his contemporaries eminently suspect, might, but for the goodwill of Fisher, have led to unpleasant strife at Cambridge. Fisher esteemed his real talents, and wishing to utilise them for the Church, avoided doing anything to drive him into the hostile camp. Several eminent men at the university, Bullock, Gonell, Bryan, Aldrich, Watson, were among his pupils, and others were encouraged by him to take up the study of Greek. Fisher himself in 1518, then in his fiftieth year, learnt Greek. Thus, as the classical studies began to decline at Oxford, they grew in favour at Cambridge.

Whilst Fisher was thus making himself the real father of the greatness of Cambridge, three well-known Churchmen were doing much for Oxford. The first of these was Fox, Bishop of Winchester, than whom few prelates have merited better of the universities. The college of Corpus Christi, founded by him, shows in its statutes the strong influences of the Renaissance. Great stress was laid upon the reading of the classical authors. Scarcely less important was the influence of Archbishop Warham and of Cardinal Wolsey, of whom it will be necessary to speak later, when on the subject of the great religious separation. In several important points, Wolsey displayed

really marvellous breadth of view. He munificently endowed professorships, and one of the men he brought to Oxford to fill a chair was the celebrated Louis Vives. Still more remarkable was Wolsey's grandiose scheme of establishing schools in all the chief towns of the country, as preparatory schools for the universities. His foundation of Cardinal College, which he was never able to complete, and which scarce survived his fall, is too well known to repeat here. He has been severely blamed by Protestant and Catholic writers alike, from Spelman to Mullinger, for his action in utilising the revenues of the suppressed minor monasteries to endow his college. Zimmermann, however, is inclined to defend him, and invokes Pope Clement VII., whose permission was granted for the purpose, as had been done in other cases of a similar kind. Wolsey's misfortune (he thinks) was to have had such a tool as Thoma Crumwell to employ for the purpose.*

But Oxford had fallen upon evil times. To begin with, visitations of sore disease well-nigh threatened her existence. From 1509 to 1528 constant outbreaks of epidemics, generally the dreaded "sweating sickness," drove away the students in crowds. More tells us in 1523 that the abbots had almost ceased to send their monks to the university; neither the nobleman would send his sons, nor the parish priest his subjects or kinsfolk. Many hostels were altogether closed. This sad state of things was doubtless owing to the unhealthy position of the city and its shocking sanitary arrangements, or rather utter want of sanitation. Vives complains bitterly of the unhealthiness of the place.

Intellectual dissensions also broke out with considerable bitterness. It is a reproach to be made against the early humanists that, in the pride of their New Learning, they too often showed themselves narrow-minded, insolent, and overbearing, and affected contemptuous scorn of the scholastic philosophy, chiefly on account of their own ignorance of anything outside the narrow circle of their own philological and literary studies. At first they seem to have been received by the theologians and philosophers with good-humour and deference,

* Zimmermann, p. 24. But see Gasquet, "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," vol. i. pp. 78 *sqq.*

but later on the opposition of the theologians to the New Learning was stimulated to regrettable exaggeration. So arose the feud between the "Greeks" and the "Trojans," as the anti-humanists came to call themselves. More had to invoke the intervention of the King, and Greek was at last duly recognised as a regular branch of study.

Such was the state of things at the national universities at the dawn of the dark day of the religious troubles under Henry VIII.

II.

Mr. Gladstone does but formulate the universal verdict of history when he tells us that in the new epoch which now opened Cambridge was to become the cradle of English Protestantism,* to which we may add that Oxford was long to remain the citadel of English Catholicism.† This fact is not without its explanation. Wycliffism, it must be remembered, was still existent in the country as a religious party, and its home was chiefly in the eastern counties. These counties, moreover, owing to their geographical situation, were in easy and constant communication with the Netherlands and Germany. It cannot surprise us, then, that in these districts the writings of Luther and other Continental "reformers" came to be circulated by the agency of booksellers, bankrupt traders, and various kinds of smugglers. They made their way soon enough to the University of Cambridge. As early as 1517 Luther seems to have found there an imitator in his denunciation of indulgences. This was a Norman, Peter de Valence, who was eventually publicly excommunicated by the Chancellor, Bishop Fisher, and who, though not an Englishman, may be claimed as the first English Protestant. The first head of the Protestant party was, however, the talented, but eccentric, and (like Luther) originally scrupulous, "Little Bilney," who by a secret propaganda won over by degrees to the Lutheran doctrine a knot of men: Arthur, fellow of St. John's; Smith, a doctor of canon law; Forman, of Queen's, and one or two others. But his most celebrated conquest was that of Robert

* "*Romanes Lecture*," pp. 23-25.

† Zimmermann, p. 31.

Barnes, prior of the Augustinians. Both Bilney and Barnes, it is worth noting, were Norfolk men. Barnes had been a student of Louvain, and was an enthusiastic humanist. His worldly and lax character would seem to have little fitted him for a "reformer," but he really became the leader of the party. It is remarked that, at least for the present, these English Lutherans did not go so far as Luther himself in all points, refraining, for instance, from attacks on the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Bilney's next successful move, the winning over of Hugh Latimer, was of a character very shocking to a Catholic mind. He went to confession to Latimer, and under the pretext of seeking advice in his mental and spiritual doubts, difficulties, and trials, succeeded in winning the confidence and esteem of Latimer, who seems to have been up to this of a guileless and unsuspicious nature, and hitherto had enjoyed the reputation of piety and strict orthodoxy. Very soon he was entirely under Bilney's influence and guidance. Latimer's character does not certainly seem to have gained by the new direction under which he fell. Duplicity and a decided want of steadfastness are stamped on his subsequent career. Summoned before Bishop West, of Ely, to answer for preaching Lutheran doctrine, he declared that he knew nothing about Luther's teachings, as it was forbidden to read his books. In 1531 we find him, after some show of manful resistance, on his knees at Lambeth, admitting having preached error, declaring that his hasty speech had led him into errors and want of discretion, and begging pardon for the scandal caused. Two years later he was again accused of the same errors, and declared he had been misunderstood. Arthur and Bilney, too, after some hesitation, are found recanting their errors; and, altogether, these early English Protestants show a decided want of constancy and much moral weakness as compared with their predecessors, the Lollards.

It is difficult to explain Wolsey's want of firmness and foresight at this juncture. When Barnes and Latimer were cited before him, he not only, led astray by Latimer's skilful pleading, reversed Bishop West's prohibition to preach, but with his legatine power gave him general faculty to preach everywhere.

From Cambridge the infection of the Lutheran heresy was

carried to Oxford in 1526, by a small band of students, whose leader seems to have been one John Clarke. The importation of the dangerous doctrines into his own university alarmed Wolsey, and roused him at last into some activity.

The curious history of the attempts to arrest Thomas Garrett of Magdalen, the most zealous propagator of the writings of the Continental reformers, as related by his friend Dalaber, is a tragic-comic story of adventures. Dalaber himself does not come very honourably out of it; for we find him, when brought up before Dr. Loudon, the head of New College, whom he styles "the worst Papist Pharisee of all," himself playing a highly discreditable part. After long opposition he finally promised, and even swore on the mass-book, to answer according to the truth, "but in his heart resolved the opposite." He ended by betraying his twenty-two companions, and was then set at liberty. On the other hand, it impresses us unpleasantly to find the University Commissioner, Dr. Cottisford, having recourse to an astrologer to find out the whereabouts of the fugitive Garrett!* The latter being eventually incarcerated, wrote a suppliant letter, begging not so much for delivery from the fetters he had merited, as from the terrible fetters of excommunication.† Several of the other innovators were apprehended, but the authorities displayed considerable mildness in their treatment of them. Dr. Higdon (Dean of Cardinal College), who himself caused their apprehension, writes to Wolsey begging for absolution for them and permission to make their Easter duties. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, apparently expecting their amendment, also pleaded for them. More than a dozen of these suspects took part in the penitential procession from St. Mary's to St. Flisdeswyde's, and as they pass the *Carfax* cast there a book into the fire. Foxe's harrowing tales in his *Book of Martyrs* about noisome underground dungeons and salt food are manifestly apocryphal.‡ Three of them died in August of the sweating sickness, and seem to have shown some repentance. Altogether, as before remarked, these early Protestants did not display much of the stuff of which martyrs are made.

* Zimmermann, p. 41.

† "Letters and Papers" (Brewer), iv. 1804.

‡ Zimmermann, p. 42.

More than this, men of the eloquence of Luther or the wide learning of Melancthon, were wanting in their ranks. Some of them were coarse and vulgar in their expression, and not likely to exercise much influence among the more cultured. Indeed, the whole movement would probably have died out, without leaving any appreciable traces, as it did in Italy and Spain, but for the lamentable affair of the Royal Divorce—that true *fons et origo malorum* of the English Church. The effects of the divorce case may be thus summed up in a sentence: the numerically and intellectually weaker party got the upper hand, and the universities were reduced to a state of servitude.

It was in 1530, two years after the events just narrated, that Henry VIII., being determined upon his divorce from Queen Catherine, appealed to the two universities for a favourable decision. From what has gone before, we can hardly wonder that he appealed first to Cambridge. Cranmer, Fox, and Gardiner, his chief tools in the matter, were Cambridge men. It is remarkable that the older men were inclined to yield to the very urgent arguments of the King; the younger held out more manfully. Now every kind of pressure was brought to bear. The King's party, not daring to challenge a vote of the university at large, brought about the appointment of a Special Commission. But even in this Commission, partial as it was, things did not go smoothly; and the final decision that was extorted ran thus: "*Ducere uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis, cognitam a priori viro per carnalem copulam, est prohibitum iure divino ac naturali.*" Practically the verdict was dead against the King, for it was exactly the consummation of the marriage with Prince Arthur that was steadfastly denied by the Queen. We know, therefore, what value to attach to Froude's eulogy of the spirit of independence and liberality of Cambridge in favouring the divorce,* as compared with the narrow-mindedness of Oxford. As a matter of fact, both the national seats of learning rejected it.†

Oxford, however, was certainly much more strongly Catholic, and so remained for several generations. And whilst the Protestant party was very unpopular there, the party of the Queen

* "History of England," i. 257-262.

† Zimmermann, p. 44.

was especially popular. Mr. Gladstone is correct in maintaining that

there was a difference in the prevalent theological cast of the two universities. Oxford was on the losing side. . . . It might be said, without any great perversion of historical truth, that in the sixteenth century the deepest and most vital religious influences within the two universities respectively were addressed at Oxford to the making of recusants, at Cambridge to the production of Zwinglians and Calvinists.*

No wonder that extraordinary efforts were made by Henry to coerce the Oxford intellect and will. The younger generation here again, especially the Arts men, held out gallantly, and drew down the royal wrath, expressed in no measured language in his letters. He concludes by reminding them, in words which recall our Latin exercise books, "*non est bonum irritare crabrones.*"† Unfortunately, it must be admitted that the part played by Archbishop Warham in this matter was a discreditable one. He did not hesitate to assert that the Universities of Cambridge and Paris had already pronounced in favour of the divorce, which was a falsehood. Cambridge's decision we have seen above; that of Paris had not been given at the time. After this, we can scarcely be surprised at Henry's false citation, in his letter of March 17, of the Cambridge decision, by *simply omitting the crucial clause italicised in our quotation above.*

In spite of all, of King and Primate, and even of the threatened weakness of the theological faculty under tremendous pressure, it is refreshing to find the M.A.s holding out gallantly. After eight weeks' strenuous contest and every kind of intrigue, nothing further could be squeezed out of the university than a decision practically equivalent to that of Cambridge—for which, of course, Oxford falls in for the censures of Mr. Froude.‡

Henry's wrath descended heavily on the university, whose great Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, had already fallen into disgrace in the preceding October. It was his famous college, Cardinal College, that was to feel the full fury of the storm.

* "Romanes Lecture," p. 25.

† Letter of March 6, Zimmermann, p. 46.

‡ "History of England," i. p. 279.

And after various efforts to ward off the blow, spoliation and suppression rapidly followed one another—perhaps among the bitterest of the dregs that the fallen Chancellor had to drink.

Five years later the great Chancellor and benefactor of the sister university, Blessed John Fisher, died the martyr's death upon the scaffold (June 22, 1535). Unlike Wolsey and Warham, the saintly bishop had early on foreseen the dangers for the English Church which the spread of the Lutheran heresy only too surely threatened; but his warnings had been unheeded by these mighty prelates. His own services to Cambridge slackened not until the end. His new statutes, to some extent borrowed from Oxford, were directed partly to elevating the level of the studies, partly to remedying the ever-growing indiscipline and recklessness of the rising generation. He is therefore very far from meriting the charge of narrow-mindedness which even Mullinger makes against him;* and not only St. John's College, as that historian truly claims, but the whole university, may justly look back with gratitude and pride to Bishop Fisher as the greatest of her benefactors.

The remaining years of Henry, from 1535 to 1547, are rightly summed up by Father Zimmermann, in reference to our subject, as the epoch of the plundering and enslaving of the universities. The meanness and greed which disgraced the policy of the latter years of the reign, do not always, or even generally, mark the policy of the "Turkish Sultans," to whom Zimmermann compares him. Henry has been praised as a patron of the universities, and a declaration of his is often quoted, to the effect that no foundations are more to the general good than those in favour of colleges, and sharply discriminating between the universities and the monasteries. There is good reason to suspect the sincerity of these expressions, and to believe that a systematic spoliation of the universities was originally intended to follow in due course that of the monasteries. In spite of his foundation of Trinity, Cambridge, from purely political motives, Henry cannot be said to have esteemed either learning or learned men for their own sake.† But what is a much more serious charge, is that his policy was directed to a systematic enthraldom of the intellect.

* Vol. i. p. 624.

† Zimmermann, pp. 53, 54, 67.

Never were independent thought and freedom of research so much kept in fetters as at this epoch. The King's changeableness of disposition and views rendered this mental servitude the more galling. The universities were called upon to change the opinions they had to defend according to the royal humour. Thomas Crumwell was made Visitor of both the Universities, and an elaborate document, containing detailed instructions, was drawn up, which Zimmermann analyses. The first article expressly stipulates that the members of the university are to promise obedience not only to the rules of succession established by the King, but also to all statutes directed to the uprooting of the Papal claims and the confirmation of the King's supreme authority. No lectures were to be permitted upon the Master of Sentences and his commentators; only the Old and New Testament in their literal sense were to be expounded. This was, of course, directed to the abolition of the scholastic philosophy and theology. Both lectures and degrees in canon law were to be abolished, "as all England(!) had acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of the King." Melancthon's name is inserted among the authors to be expounded in philosophy. All heads of houses and professors must swear obedience to these new statutes. Two pliant tools, Dr. Layton and Dr. Legh, were deputed in place of their master, Crumwell, as Visitors, to Oxford and Cambridge respectively. Then followed a veritable panic, a reign of terror. With what high-handed violence the new ordinances were carried out, we can learn from Layton's letters to his master. Duns Scotus was the object of special ill-treatment. His books were torn up and scattered about with every circumstance of ignominy. This was practically the banishment of sound logic from the English universities, remarks Zimmermann caustically, and so things have remained till quite recent times. Legh proceeded with somewhat more moderation in Cambridge.

No wonder that these measures, and the general uncertainty which prevailed, rapidly tended to diminish the number of students. But the severest blow which the universities received was in the suppression of the great monasteries between 1536-9. Dr. Loudon was commissioned to suppress the nine colleges of the regular orders: Benedictines, Cistercians,

Augustinians, Franciscans, and Dominicans, in Oxford. Nobles, townsfolk, and heads of secular colleges threw themselves greedily upon the plunder; the subjects were bettering the unworthy example of their sovereign. The few regular colleges at Cambridge had the better fate. But the effects of the suppression of the monasteries were more far-reaching. Among these was the destruction of so many of the middle schools which had served as feeders for the universities by affording training for talented boys of the poorer classes. Now began that gradual change which eventually led to the practical shutting out of the poorer classes—who before this epoch had been in the *majority* at the universities—and the exclusive reservation of these national institutions to the rich and the nobles. A little later than this, as Mr. Gladstone reminds us, “Ascham says that among the prevailing evils, there was none more grave than the large admission of the sons of rich men, indifferent to solid and far-reaching study.”* But this was the process which now began, and went steadily on for three centuries.

On Crumwell's fall, in 1540, Bishop Gardiner succeeded as Chancellor. It is not our business here to discuss the somewhat ambiguous character of Stephen Gardiner. As bishop, he appears to have shown a less pliant disposition than Henry had expected from his former behaviour. He was at any rate a scholar of some merit. During his chancellorship occurred his famous quarrel with the gifted Hellenist, John Cheke, concerning the pronunciation of Greek, which led to a strife as bitter as (to us) it is amusing. Here we meet with the first beginnings of the “pedantry,” which for some time was to cling to English learning. The chancellorship of Gardiner, however, to some extent appears as a time of comparative prosperity to the university. The new regulations published in 1544 were wise and useful. The foundation of Magdalen College, although the complete carrying out of the original plan was not possible till Mary's reign (1584), falls in this time; and, at length, also Henry's own long promised foundation, Trinity, Cambridge. In spite of all the misery and uncertainty of the times, there was still a certain number of

* “*Romanes Lecture*,” p. 23.

scholars of note at the universities, but of these the majority were true to the Old Faith.

At the death of Henry VIII. the country was in a state of the greatest anarchy that it had seen since the Conquest. Never had there been such a severing of classes and such divisions of men's minds. The people were in a temper of despair, and but for the paid army at the King's command, a revolution would probably have broken out. The short reign of the boy-king, Edward VI., was to mark the victory of Protestantism, a victory which, in spite of the temporary Catholic reaction under Mary, was to be continued and consolidated under Elizabeth. The Protector Somerset was a convinced Calvinist; Warwick, later Duke of Northumberland, though at heart a Catholic, relied for the success of his schemes on the Protestant party, as the Catholics naturally favoured Mary.

From the intellectual point of view, the Protestants at this time were decidedly weak, especially in theologians. Cranmer and his friends could not help feeling that they had no men at the universities who could be considered a match for scholars like Dr. Richard Smith, Mallet, or Chedsey at Oxford, Young and Bullock at Cambridge. As Mr. Gladstone points out, "a proof of this relative weakness is supplied by the single fact that to reform our service-books, and to instruct our candidates for holy orders, we were driven to invoke the aid of foreigners." * Already in Henry's lifetime unsuccessful overtures had been made to Melancthon, and now Bucer and Fagius were imported to Cambridge, and Peter Martyr (whose name was Vermigli) to Oxford.

In 1548 and 1549, a new Commission of Visitation was issued for both universities. The statutes, under the sanction of all kinds of penalties, fines, imprisonment, &c., were to effect a thorough revolution in the Protestant sense. The old doctrine was to be extirpated, foundations for masses to be commuted, the forms of divine service to be altered. Some changes were introduced into the prescribed courses of study, and efforts made, not indeed with success, to encourage the study of civil law. Further confusion was a necessary result.

* "Romanes Lecture," p. 25.

Peter Martyr began his lectures at Oxford in 1549. He was the first in England to deny the Real Presence. His crude Zwinglian teaching regarding the Holy Eucharist disgusted the Catholics. Quarrels and even physical strife were the result. Shocking scenes of profanity and desecration occurred in some of the college chapels, especially Magdalen. At Cambridge Dr. Cox was the bitterest enemy of the Catholics. He displayed a literal fury in the wholesale destruction of books and MSS. A new feature in the strife was the introduction of public disputations between the parties. Dr. Richard Smith challenged Peter Martyr to such a trial of skill, but his crafty adversary eluded every attempt to make him face so able a disputant with quite an amusing variety of subterfuges. The end was that Smith, like so many other of Oxford's ablest men, was forced to seek refuge in flight to the Continent. Other Catholics, however, Tresham and Chedsey, took up the cudgels in his place, and Peter Martyr, forced at last to a disputation, cut such a sorry figure that Dr. Cox after four days adjourned the meeting *sine die*. Bucer, also at Cambridge had to face the challenge of Young, Sedgwick, and Andrew, and came off with little credit in a public disputation on theology. Other such intellectual contests followed.

Somerset and Northumberland were meanwhile gradually getting rid of the Catholic professors and officials, whilst Catholic parents (who were still in the majority) were withdrawing their sons from the national universities, to have them educated privately at home or at foreign seats of learning. The lecture-rooms were steadily emptying, and the diminishing ranks of students were recruited only from the sons of the richer classes, whose chief aim was pleasure, not study. We have Latimer's and Lever's lamentations to bear out these statements.* Huber † is therefore fully justified in maintaining that the "Reformation" had injured the universities, both externally and internally. But we cannot agree with him in comparing the reign of Henry VIII. with that of Edward VI., to the advantage of the former. Although the evils grew under the latter reign, it was precisely Henry's policy which

* Letters quoted by Zimmermann pp. 80, 81.

† "English Universities," vol. i. p. 284.

was responsible for them in their origin. Yet even Edward does not seem to have merited all the praise which has been bestowed on him as a patron of learning. The funds for the schools of which he is reckoned the founder were for the most part derived either from Church property or the contributions of the local burgesses.

In the statutes of Trinity College, Cambridge, published by the Visitors at this time, we find first fully developed the systematic plan of making the colleges independent of the university, an innovation which had serious consequences later on, as we shall see. The President is also to take an oath to maintain the Protestant doctrine, and the fellows are to be obliged to abjure the Old Faith, whilst the scholars are to take an oath recognising the Bible as the sole rule of Faith. We are already in the full swing of those penal regulations which long kept the doors of the universities locked against Catholics from the inside.

From 1553 to 1558, the reign of Mary was marked by the short-lived Catholic reaction. The circumstances of her early life, the fanaticism of her religious opponents, the personal affronts she had had to endure under Edward's reign, and the violence of the innovators even after her accession, must go a long way to account for the bitterness and intolerance she displayed herself when in power. At least the universities flourished under her reign. She stands out favourably from the other Tudors in her patronage of learning, and in her personal munificence to the universities. Two zealous Catholics, Sir Thomas Pope and Sir Thomas White, founded at this time the two Oxford colleges of Trinity and St. John's respectively; whilst the Queen's physician, the celebrated Dr. Caius, also an earnest Catholic, by remodelling Gonville Hall, Cambridge, merited the title of the founder of Gonville and Caius, now known by his own name alone. The statutes display broad-minded zeal for the promotion of the study of medicine, for which foundations are provided to be enjoyed at Padua, Bologna, Montpellier, or Paris. The careful disciplinary regulations show us how far the moral tone had descended already at the universities. The keeping of horses and dogs, as well as bull-baiting and bear-baiting, have to be prohibited to the students. In spite of Mullinger's contrary opinion, based

upon such partial witnesses as Ascham, Jewell, and Peter Martyr, Oxford under Mary compares very favourably with Cambridge. The number of students increased—a good sign of prosperity. The B.A.s who graduated during the reign at Oxford were 216, as against 176 at Cambridge.

At the latter university, Gardiner was reinstated as Chancellor, and we cannot but regret that his reversal of all that had taken place under Edward was carried out with much of the same spirit in which it had been introduced. Some of the Protestant party, like Perne, Cheke, and Cecil, yielded and became Catholics. Others were driven out. Those were not days of toleration on either side! * At the same time, we may remark that 125 M.A.s and 195 B.A.s graduated during five years of Mary, as against 90 and 167 respectively during five years of her predecessor. Gardiner died in 1555, and Cardinal Pole succeeded him as Chancellor. Visitors were now sent to both universities for the "extirpation of heresy," but their new statutes were never carried out, for the Queen's death followed immediately. Whatever views may be held of her policy, it must at least be said that she did more for the universities than either her predecessor or her successor.

Over the reign of Elizabeth we may pass more rapidly. It was the period not only of the final triumph of Protestantism, but of the remodelling of Protestantism into the form of Anglicanism, and the consequent beginning of the long struggle between that form and Puritanism. Elizabeth herself cannot be said to have had strong religious convictions, and, like Cecil, who could easily change his religion, was influenced rather by political, or, we may say, national, motives.† Her endeavour all along was to found a kind of middle party, a species of Protestantism amalgamated with Catholic discipline. This was "Anglicanism." As usual, a visitation of the universities was carried out, with the inevitable new regulations and the usual serious interference with the rights and liberties

* "It was not only Mary who thought that heretics should be burnt; John Rogers, who was the first to suffer, had, in the days of Edward, pleaded for the death of Joan Bocher" (S. R. Gardiner, "Student's History of England," vol. ii. p. 424).

† "She cared nothing for theology, though her inclinations drew her to a more elaborate ritual than that which the Protestants had to offer. She was, however, intensely national. . . . For this end she must establish national unity in the Church" (S. R. Gardiner, p. 428).

of the ancient "republic of letters," which would never have been tolerated in the Middle Ages. The Catholics showed great steadfastness, and nearly all the heads of colleges and many of the fellows at Oxford either resigned or suffered expulsion. The new men put into their places were mostly very inferior. The test oath, and the system of espionage and persecution which followed it, found some indeed not quite so staunch, and these few formed the kernel of the new "Anglican" party. But the new doctrines had seriously lowered the general estimation of the ecclesiastical character, and both the clergy and the universities sank under Elizabeth into a pitiful condition. "Sunt mutæ musæ nostraque fama fames," was the all-too true complaint of the state of things at Oxford. As to the ignorance of the clergy, we have the emphatic testimony of Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, and of Cecil.* The former in 1561 reported that the heads of colleges were so bad that he could not say whether their absence or their presence were more harmful, for that none of them did any good; whilst "his heart bled" when he thought of St. John's College. Next year Cecil wished to resign the chancellorship, out of disgust at the state of things, for the heads had no care to second him in either controlling disorderly youth, enforcing discipline, or encouraging science and godliness. Probably with the design of improving the state of things at the universities, Elizabeth paid her famous State visits to Cambridge in 1564 and to Oxford in 1566. As a matter of fact, these sumptuous pageants did vastly more harm than good. They tended to encourage the taste for luxury and frivolous amusement, and especially to develop a love for dramatic entertainments, which, whilst directly beneficial to the rise of the English drama, was certainly ill-calculated to improve study or academic discipline.

In 1572 the celebrated Dr. Caius, who for a time had been inclined, with some others, to favour the new "via media" of Anglicanism, and had so kept his place, became a victim of persecution. His college was broken into (by the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Whitgift, the future Archbishop) and all his vestments, sacred vessels, statues, and other objects cast

* Zimmermann, pp. 96, 97.

into the flames. He did not long survive the blow, dying in London, after a life spent in doing more for the promotion of study at his university than any one of his contemporaries.

In spite of all, there was still considerable vitality in the Catholic party, at least at Oxford. Merton and Corpus had already shown considerable pluck in defending their privileges against Leicester in 1564. There was even a certain Catholic reaction set in :

It would be interesting [says Zimmermann] to show in detail how many professors and students at both universities, little by little, returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church; how, in very many instances, the reading of Catholic writings converted zealous Protestants and timid Catholics; with what zeal Catholic booksellers or private persons strove to disseminate Catholic tracts of devotion or controversy among the students; how often Protestant bishops or heads of houses caused domiciliary visitations to be made, destroyed Catholic books, or severely punished Catholic booksellers and colporteurs.*

One of the best known of these latter cases was that of Rowland Jenks. In 1592 the heads of houses at Cambridge established a commission to prosecute Catholics for "seducing the young," complaining that no books were so widely circulated as Catholic ones, and that in many of the rooms of Anglican professors the majority of the books found were those of scholastic theologians, writings of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. Indeed, Anglicanism was no more able to produce a scientific school of theology then than it has been ever since. And there can be little doubt that, if the contest had been fought out with intellectual weapons only, the Catholic party would have come off easily victorious. Mr. Gladstone admits that "the very ablest men among those [Oxford] reared, such as Allen, Campion, Stapleton, and the rest, were ejected and suppressed."†

It is hardly cognate to our purpose to follow Fr. Zimmermann in his history of the struggle between Anglicanism and Puritanism. "Nonconformity," indeed, took its rise at Cambridge, as Mr. Gladstone points out.‡ Browne and Cartwright, the leaders of the movement, were Cambridge men of note. The latter's election as Professor in 1569 and subsequent exclu-

* Pp. 100, 101.

† "Romanes Lecture," p. 25.

‡ *Ibid.*

sion by the Vice-Chancellor Mey led to a serious storm; the situation became so critical that a fresh revision of the statutes was decided upon. It was John Whitgift who was charged with this revision. This remarkable man seems originally to have been a Calvinist, but his skilful trimming made him a valued ally of the Queen. It is well known to what importance he eventually rose as Archbishop of Canterbury. Indeed, Fr. Zimmermann does not hesitate to declare that to him and Elizabeth is owing the foundation of the Anglican High Church system, and that Laud (to whom, by the way, Mr. Gladstone assigns so high a position as a Churchman*) merely followed in their footsteps. Whitgift's new statutes transferred the centre of gravity of university authority. The heads of colleges formed a new body of very great power, into whose hands almost all practical control was transferred. This also had much effect upon subsequent developments. Little by little the universities were becoming mere seminaries for Anglican divines. Yet, although Cartwright had to fly to Geneva, the Anglican bishops were in an awkward position, and did not dare to proceed to extremities against the Puritans, as against the Catholics. There is a curious memorial of complaint from them about the state of things at the universities, chiefly interesting to us as it incidentally refers to civil law and natural science as "useless branches of study!" The fact is, the universities were once more in a state of intellectual decline, of which we have contemporary testimony in Traver's "*Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ Explicatio*" (1574). Most of the best men fled abroad. So in 1583 some eighty professors and students followed Dr. Allen to Rheims, and most of these were from Oxford. Leicester's influence at Oxford as Chancellor was for evil. Though the number of students increased under his rule, good discipline and study rapidly declined, and Oxford was soon outstripped by Cambridge. The centre of intellectual life had meanwhile been transferred to London.

To sum up the results of the Reformation in the universities. The independence and rights of the national seats of learning had come to an end with freedom of research and opinion. The authority of the Senate had been superseded by that of the

* "*Romanes Lecture*," pp. 37-39.

heads of houses, as we have seen, and these colleges were merely seminaries for training Anglican clergymen. The students were made up of two classes: the sons of the nobility, idlers, and pleasure-seekers on the one hand, and Protestant divines, to whom theology was merely a "bread-study" leading to prospective benefices. The best class—the poorer middle class—had disappeared. The real talent of the universities was to be sought abroad, in the flourishing colleges founded by Allen, or after his example; especially at Douay, which at the time far surpassed Oxford. The study of law and medicine had almost disappeared, and the professors could get no hearers. In seven years Oxford could produce but one doctor and eight bachelors in law. The natural sciences and mathematics were treated with the utmost contempt, as dishonourable for university students! * Greek was almost forgotten. During the last forty years of the century Mullinger admits that only two men at Cambridge certainly knew Greek, and perhaps three others had a smattering of it. Things were worse at Oxford. Latin, too, was far less known at the close than at the beginning of the century. Hebrew, owing to the importance now attached to the text of Scripture, had received some more attention; but the most distinguished Orientalist at Oxford, Robert Wakefield,† had been a Catholic; and his brother Thomas, who also remained true to the faith, was the first public professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, where, however, Protestant bigotry forbade his lecturing. Foreigners or Jews were the chief teachers of Hebrew after them. Rhetoric had taken the place of solid learning. History has only the name of Camden (Oxford) to show; Leland, the antiquarian, had been suffered to die in neglect and poverty. In a word, learning had not gained in a single branch by the Reformation. And no attempt at improvement was made till the reigns of the Stuarts.

College life and discipline had fared no better. An entire change had come over society. The rural population, flocking to the towns, had become spoilt and corrupted.‡ The character of the bishops, clergy, and heads of colleges had descended

* See the quotations and examples, Zimmermann, p. 122.

† He became the first professor of Hebrew at Louvain. He had, however, supported the royal divorce and shared in the plundering of the monasteries (Nève).

‡ Hall, "Society in the Elizabethan Age" (1887), pp. 104, 105.

both intellectually and morally. The abuses of the collegiate system, of university "graces," and of the tutorial system had most serious results upon the universities. The students came up much too young—lads of twelve or thirteen, Peacham tells us—and were badly prepared. The heads of colleges abused their autocratic powers. The material prosperity of the colleges (greatly augmented by Sir Thomas Smith's wise regulations) was accompanied by general intellectual stagnation. Poorer students, sizarers, were systematically degraded into the position of drudges. How different from the state of things in the Middle Ages!

What the Reformation meant for the entire nation, was also what it meant for the universities; the robbery of the poor, the enrichment of the great, the almost absolute exclusion of talent and industry from place and honour. A brilliant university career had formerly opened a path to high office in Church and State; this was now reserved for a privileged class. Formerly the university professor was able, by one or more livings, which laid upon him no obligation of residence, to secure an existence free from anxiety; now the stipend of a professor was far too little. Formerly, by the study of philosophy, by public disputations and other scholastic exercises, not only the memory, but also the thinking powers had been developed; now study was directed almost exclusively to cramming the memory. Formerly there was freedom of research, so far as it did not run counter to the dogmas of the Catholic Church; now the narrowest compulsory teaching prevailed. Formerly ideal ends were united with science; now science was esteemed only so far as it served practical ends. From the continental universities nothing had been borrowed but unrestrained polemics and party passion. The warning of Bacon* and others fell on deaf ears. Not till the beginning of the present century were some of the crying abuses which had crept in during the sixteenth century, done away with, and the universities brought nearer to their true end and object.†

It is not without significance that the vast reforms in the national universities which had signalised the latter half of this nineteenth century, have all been in the direction of the state of things in pre-reformation times. There has been a casting down of barriers; first religious, by the abolition of test-oaths; then social, by the gradual re-admission of the middle and poorer classes. The tendency nowadays to build a procession of bridges from the primary school, across the middle school

* Works, ed. Spedding, vol. iii. pp. 326-328, 597.

† Zimmermann, p. 138.

and grammar school, up to the university itself, is merely a reversion to what existed on a much larger scale in Catholic times. Even for the poor boy, gifted by talent and industry, there is now ever-increasing opportunity for rising to an academic career, but as yet to a far less extent than there was in the Middle Ages. The intellectual revival in every department has been extraordinary indeed; here again we are going back to the Oxford and Cambridge of Old England. During the last twenty years, we are assured by unquestionable authority, the growth of earnestness and the spirit of work, the decline of luxury and frivolity, the greater simplicity of student life have made the Oxford and Cambridge of 1895 something very unlike that of even the seventies. Here again we have a reversion to the thirteenth and two subsequent centuries. This being so, it appears providentially timed that a beginning should be made of once more opening the road towards those old Catholic foundations, the national universities, for the spiritual and intellectual heirs of their founders, who have been exiled from them for three hundred years. But the restoration will scarce be complete till we can see the successes of St. Edmund Rich, of Stapleton, and of Allen—and, may we hope, those of Kilwardby, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus—pursuing the same paths of study, divine as well as human, by the banks of the Isis and the Cam.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

Science Notices.

The Scientific Work of Professor Huxley.—A leading weekly journal has described the pure scientific work of the late Professor Huxley as the accident of his career, giving him pre-eminence as the founder of a school of thought. The writer has surely confounded notoriety with fame. While Huxley attained the former by certain speculations he chose to evolve from his researches, his fame in the future will rest upon his brilliant biological investigations.

For these has Huxley received his meed of honours, and it is only the consideration of his pure scientific work that falls within the scope of these notices.

The first revelation of his extraordinary powers of observation was the brief note which, while a medical student at Charing Cross Hospital, he contributed to the *Medical Times and Gazette* concerning that layer in the root-sheath of hair which has since been called Huxley's layer. It was, however, his original investigation of the fauna of the Southern Seas, carried on while he was assistant surgeon on board the *Rattlesnake* from 1846-50, that gained him fame as a naturalist. During the course of its voyage the vessel traversed many parts of tropical oceans, including the coasts of Australia, little investigated by the zoologist. Thus he had ample opportunities of observing the lower pelagic animals in the living state, and during the voyage sent home several communications to the Royal Society of sufficient value to ensure his election as Fellow of the Society shortly after his arrival in England.

In 1874 Dr. Ernst Haeckel wrote a notice of Huxley's principal biological discoveries in *Nature*. This account has been much drawn upon in the Huxley literature that has lately appeared. It contains, however, an able estimate of the value of his scientific work; and it has been referred to for the following facts:

Dr. Haeckel, without hesitation, places Huxley at the head of the zoologists of this country. In each of the large divisions of the animal kingdom he made important discoveries. As has been stated, his early labours were occupied with the lower marine animals, especially with the pelagic organisms swimming at the surface of the sea.

In the Protozoa he first elucidated the mysterious Thalassicollidæ and Sphærozoida. In his work on "Oceanic Hydrozoa" he has increased our knowledge of zoophytes. In the paper he communicated to the Royal Society in 1849 he pointed out that the bodies of these animals are constructed of two cell layers—of the Ectoderm and the Endoderm—and that these, physiologically and morphologically, may be compared to the two germinal layers of higher animals. He first showed the affinities of Echinodermata with Vermes, demolishing the old view that the Echinodermata belong to the Radiata, and, on account of their radial type, should be classed with corals, medusæ, &c. He pointed out that the whole organisation of the former is different from the latter, and that the Echinodermata are more nearly related morphologically to worms.

He also threw much light on the important group of Tunicata by his studies of Ascidians, Appendicularia, Pyrosoma, Doliolum, and Salpa. He has made us more intimate with the morphology of the Mollusca and Arthropoda; and he considered the generation of vine fretters from a new point of view.

He specially advanced the comparative anatomy and classification of the Vertebrata, and expounded his researches in his "Lectures on the Elements of Comparative Anatomy," and in other separate publications dealing with living and extinct fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds, and mammals.

The Mitigation of the Fading of Pigments.—In the Parliamentary Report made in 1888 by Captain Abney and Dr. Russell on the fading of pigments in pictures, it was stated that every pigment is permanent when exposed to light in vacua, also that the rays which produce the greatest changes in pigments are the blue and the violet components of white light. To provide a vacuum casing for pictures would certainly be no easy task, though experiments have been made in this direction by a Company. Captain Abney has not chosen the preventive method for his experiments, but has confined his efforts to one which minimises the deteriorating influence by controlling the kind of light admitted to the pigments. The results of his experiments can now be witnessed in the Raffaele Cartoon Gallery. The method consists in subtracting the active violet rays from the light admitted to the gallery.

The glazing of the roof is in alternate strips of blue-green and yellow glass. The mixture of rays that pass into the gallery produces a white light devoid of the violet rays, since they are stopped by the blue green and the yellow glass. The hues of the pigment do

not suffer from the exclusion of the violet rays, for it has been shown that these are practically useless for giving illumination, the yellow rays having about two hundred times the illumination of the strongest violet ray.

Captain Abney has measured the amount of luminosity lost by the new method:

I place the yellow glass in one white beam, and alongside it send another beam of white light. By intervening a rod in the paths of the two beams, to cast two shadows, and reducing one by rotating sectors which can give a larger or smaller aperture at will during rotation, we can arrive at a point where the two shadows are equally luminous. Removing the glass the balance is again secured, and we find that in this case the aperture required is 60° , and in the other 85° , showing that the yellow glass allows $\frac{1}{3}$ of the white light to pass through it. We can do the same with the blue-green glass, and find it cuts off a deal more, allowing only $\frac{1}{6}$ of the light to pass. Now, if half the roof be glazed with yellow glass and the other half with the blue-green glass, the total light passing through is only 45 per cent. of what would fall through the aperture of the roof if no glass were in it. Absorption and reflection by white glass reduce that loss to about 50 per cent.

This loss is considerable, but it can be compensated by increasing the area of the glazed portion of the roof. This has been done in the Raffaele Cartoon Gallery.

The diminution of chemical activity by the removal of the violet rays has been proved by taking a photograph in the Raffaele gallery and in the adjoining one, lit in the ordinary manner. A bromide plate requires nearly ten times the exposure in the former to what it does in the latter.

To estimate the extension of the period for fading gained by the new method of lighting is a matter for time alone to decide. "Putting it as low as ten times, we have a considerable saving. Thus, a picture which in ordinary light would last ten years, will, if hung in this light, last at least one hundred years, and probably two hundred years."

Captain Abney has suggested that private houses might with advantage be illuminated with such a light as has been described. Not only would it tend to preserve the pictorial heirlooms, but it would have a beneficial effect on the eyesight, as the ultra-violet rays are supposed to excite the fluorescent properties of the retina and produce irritability.

But Captain Abney perhaps forgets that recent experiments have proved the hygienic value of the violet rays. Since they are the microbe destroyers, the advantage in excluding them from our dwelling places is a very doubtful one.

M. Andrée's Proposed Balloon Voyage to the North Pole.—

At the recent Geographical Congress, M. Andrée unfolded his daring scheme for reaching the North Pole in a balloon. It cannot be said to have been met with enthusiasm, but rather with criticism. The President of the Congress was of opinion that the plan should not be encouraged, and by one member at least it was denounced as foolhardy. In spite of adverse opinion, M. Andrée adheres to his intention, and certainly his voyage will command the keen attention of all those who are interested in balloon navigation.

M. Andrée is a Swedish engineer. His own countrymen appear to be more sympathetic than foreigners, for they subscribed the necessary funds within fourteen days. M. Andrée is an aeronaut of experience and courage, having once made a balloon voyage from Gothenburg to the Isle of Gothland, during which he crossed part of the Baltic. He has also had experience of Polar regions. He proposes to use a balloon large enough to carry three persons, and being provided with a double outer covering. It is to be furnished with provisions for four months. The car will be fitted with meteorological instruments, life buoys, and collapsible boats. It will be provided with means of instantly detaching it from the balloon. M. Andrée is endeavouring to obtain an absolutely impermeable covering for the balloon. If he succeeds in finding this he will receive the gratitude of all aeronauts. He places much confidence in the use of guy ropes, which he will allow to drag on the ground. He also intends to fix a sail on to the balloon, maintaining that the combination of sail and guy ropes will enable him to steer the balloon to some extent. The start is to be made from Spitzbergen in July next. M. Andrée estimates that the journey to the Pole will take forty-three hours. It is doubtful whether he will return at that speed.

Electric Strokes and their Treatment.—

According to M. D'Arsonval, the deaths of persons who have been subjected to severe electric shocks is due to two different causes: (1) The damage or destruction of the tissues; (2) The over-excitation of the nervous centres, arresting respiration. In this second case the victim of the stroke is merely in a swoon resembling some one who has been semi-drowned, and if treated in the right manner can be resuscitated. The apparent deaths of this class seem to be produced by alternating currents. Since alternating currents have been used in the United States to execute criminals, the authorities possibly have

now to face the startling fact that they have been burying their victims alive. Conclusive experiments have been tried with animals, but recently an accident happened to a man, at St. Denis, which confirms M. D'Arsonval's theories. The man was employed at St. Denis in fixing a telephone wire alongside of some wires conveying a current of 4500 volts. The wires were held in position by small posts fixed to a wall by cramping irons. He was sitting astride upon the bar of the lower cramping iron, foolishly holding one of the conducting wires with one hand. The telephone wire which he had taken up with him was resting on the cramping iron, and it accidentally touched the conducting wire. There was a short circuit through the body of the man, the current entering by one hand and passing out by his thigh. How long the current was thus short-circuited is not exactly known, but it was certainly for some minutes. The superintendent in charge of the apparatus at Epinay, owing to the sparking of the terminals, suspected that there was a short circuit somewhere on the line, and telephoned for the machinery to be stopped. About a quarter of an hour afterwards, Messieurs Picon and Leblanc, two well-known electricians, arrived at St. Denis and found the man still sitting in the same position and apparently dead. Immediately after taking him down, which took about half an hour, they went through the usual process of producing artificial respiration by raising the arms, opening the mouth, &c. After some little time the patient began to breathe, and in two hours was able to speak. He appears to have felt no further evil effects from his accident excepting two burns, one on his hand and the other on his thigh.

Possibly the same treatment might be successful in cases when persons are struck by lightning.

The Electromotive Force of Starlight—Photo-Electric Cells.
—In a recent number of *Nature* Professor Minders describes the photo-electric cell by means of which he has, in conjunction with Professor Fitzgerald and Mr. W. E. Wilson, measured the electromotive force of the light of some of the planets and stars.

The method for pursuing this fascinating research was first devised a little more than a year ago in Mr. Wilson's observatory at Daramona, Westmeath.

The original photo-electric cell was constructed with selenium, aluminium, and the liquid cyanthol. The way in which the cell was formed was as follows :

A strip of clean aluminium, about half an inch long and one tenth of an inch wide, was laid on an iron plate, which was heated by a Bunsen flame. On the end of the strip was placed a small particle of selenium, which melted and formed a small black globule of liquid. The flame was then taken away and the melted selenium spread over the end of the aluminum strip by a glass rod, so that it formed a thin uniform layer, about $\cdot 1$ of an inch square, on the end of the strip. The dark layer was allowed to cool to a few degrees below its melting-point, which was about 217° C. Then the under surface of the iron plate was again heated, until the layer of selenium was nearly remelted. During the process the colour of the layer changed from black to a greyish brown. When it was just on the point of melting the heat was withdrawn, and the surface of the selenium cooled by being blown upon. This left the surface of the selenium in a state in which it is very sensitive to light. The end of the strip covered with selenium was immersed in a glass tube containing cyanthol, and connected with one pole of a quadrant electrometer, whose other pole was connected to a platinum wire sealed into the glass tube. This arrangement constituted the cell, in which the action of light falling upon the selenium layer gives the selenium a positive electric charge and the liquid a negative one, the positive charge being conveyed to one pole of the electrometer by the plate and the negative charge to the other pole by the platinum wire sealed into the cell.

It is stated that ordinary diffused daylight will produce in such a cell as this an electromotive force of between one-third and one-half of a volt.

The electromotive force of the light of some of the planets and stars, including that of Sirius, was measured by means of this cell; but it has been found that it is not constant, and it is therefore unreliable. The strip of aluminium at the same time conveys to the insulated pole of the electrometer the positive charge produced by light in the selenium, and part of the negative charge imparted to the liquid, with the result that the electromotive force is less than it should be. Again, there are currents circulating between the selenium and the back of the strip of aluminium which tend to deteriorate the cell. In practice it is found that the strength of such cells falls off after about six hours.

An improved cell has now been devised, with which excellent work has been done.

The strip of aluminium is replaced by a wire of the same metal, about one millimetre in diameter, at the end of which the selenium is deposited. The wire is enclosed in a glass tube, in which it fits

tightly, the end of the wire on which there is the selenium layer being flush with the end of the tube. The other end of the aluminium wire is connected with a fine platinum wire, which emerges from the other end of the glass tube and forms the selenium pole of the photo-electric cell. The glass tube containing the wire fits into a cork which closes the side of the glass cell containing the liquid. The extremity of the tube at which is the selenium-coated aluminium wire fits close up against a quartz window, inserted in the cell just opposite the cork. A platinum wire is sealed into the bottom of the glass cell, and conveys the charge taken by the liquid to one pole of the electrometer. In this cell, the liquid being kept out of contact with the wire, the local currents are avoided. The cell has remained constant for three months.

The light of the planets and stars to be measured is received through a telescope on the quartz window, so that it falls on the selenium layer. It is important that the light of the star should cover the whole of the sensitive layer. With this cell the electromotive forces of the lights of Jupiter, Saturn, Vega, Arcturus, Regulus, Procyon and other stars have been measured. So sensitive is this cell to light that if a paraffin candle is held at a distance of 9 ft. from the quartz window of the cell, it produces an electromotive force of about 0.3 volts. The light of Arcturus gave 0.82 of the electromotive force produced by the candle at 7 ft., the light of Saturn and Regulus 0.56.

It is found that the cell is most sensitive to the yellow rays, though it responds to all rays of the spectrum, and even to rays considerably below the visible red and blue.

The Spontaneous Combustion of Hay.—For a long time it has been supposed that the spontaneous combustion of hay is caused by the joint action of oxidation and decomposition. The particular process, however, which so often leads to the loss of large quantities of hay, has not, until lately, been very clearly elucidated.

We are indebted to Messieurs Berthelot and André for the explanation of the phenomenon. The process is not so simple as has been thought to be the case. After hay has been dried to a certain extent fermentation sets in, which is accompanied by considerable heat. The heating increases until the temperature is reached which destroys the microbes. The temperature, however, does not always fall with the death of the agents which produced it, for the high temperature

favours oxidation, which, when set up, re-acts on the temperature, which may rise high enough to effect spontaneous combustion. There are, therefore, two separate stages in the process: (1) The fermentation stage, which affords the necessary temperature for oxidation; (2) The purely chemical stage, which is directly responsible for the spontaneous combustion.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The American North-West.—Mr. Somerset's * experiences in a region which seems to be one of the most forbidding on the earth's surface are not calculated to invite others to follow in his track. The muskegs, from which the book takes its title, are treacherous morasses covered with green spongy moss alternating with pools of water. The country traversed in the basins of the Athabasca and Peace Rivers was covered to a great extent by these swamps, varied with forest so dense that a path had to be cut through it with the axe. It rained almost every day, and as the bush was wet even when the sky was clear, the travellers were perpetually soaked from head to foot. For many days they walked ankle-deep in swamp or muskeg, and sometimes for hours at a time in water reaching to above the knee. Waterproof sheets were unavailing to keep out the universal deluge, and often by reaching out of bed they could plunge their hands to the wrist, or even to the elbow, in slushy water or sodden mud. Add to this the plague of mosquitoes, which swarmed in such multitudes that the moose and deer of the country often die from loss of blood caused by their bites and those of the bull-dog flies. The mode of travel for greater part of the distance was on foot, with horses as baggage carriers. Little game was shot, and the rifles of the party failed to supply sufficient food, so that one of the horses had to be slaughtered to reinforce the commissariat. Even this resource proved inadequate, and they were reduced to the last extremity of hunger, having been two days almost without food, before reaching the Hudson's Bay Station in British Columbia, whence they were able to descend the Fraser River and its tributaries, and so strike the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Indians in this region depend largely on rabbits for their food, and as these for some mysterious reason die out or disappear every seven years, the mortality among the tribes increases at the same periods.

* "The Land of the Muskeg." By H. Somers Somerset. London: Heinemann. 1895.

General Character of the Athabasca Region.—The country beyond the Edmonton district in Alberta and the fertile plains of the Saskatchewan is declared to be totally unfitted for agricultural settlement, and the vast territory from the Athabasca to the Barren Grounds and thence to the Arctic Ocean, to the north of the 54th parallel, is condemned as worthless for colonisation. The Athabasca Landing, 100 miles north of Edmonton, is the last outpost of the Canadian Government, and the country north of that river, though nominally included in the Dominion, is not practically subject to any constituted authority. No treaties have been made with the Indians, as throughout the remainder of Canada, and it is at least an open question whether the jurisdiction of the Canadian courts extends beyond the river. The only form of authority recognised in practice is that exercised by the Hudson Bay's Company's officer and the Catholic missionaries:

These last [says Mr. Pollen, who has written the preface of the book] fill a picturesque place in the story of the country. At almost every fort you will find the neat log-houses and church of the Roman Catholic Mission, and the priests themselves are all highly educated men, while most of them are of good French or French-Canadian families. Their influence with the Indians is immense. During the last rebellion the Canadian Government owed much to the missionaries' power of restraining incipient revolt, and every Hudson's Bay Company's officer we met was loud and unqualified in their praise. This would hardly be so were not their services to civilisation and good order known beyond dispute, for the officers in question were to a man alien to their race and their creed, and, as we had lamentable occasion to remark, the bitterness of religious differences is not a whit softer in that country than in ours. For ourselves, we have a score of services to thank them for, and the fathers at the Little Slave Lake, Smoky River, Dunvegan, and Fort M'Leod, placed themselves and all they possessed at our disposal in the friendliest way.

Père Morice, encountered at Stewart's Lake, in British Columbia, was especially helpful, as his influence with the Indians was prodigious. It was a surprise to the travellers to find a *savant* and a man of letters, who, though a Frenchman, spoke irreproachable English, working among the Indians in a lonely north-western mission. Judging from his congregation, however, his learning does not seem to be thrown away, as they are immeasurably superior to their neighbours.

They build log houses [says the author], and many speak English and read books and a monthly review in the native tongue, printed in the syllabary which their priest has invented for them. This is one of the many extraordinary achievements of this prince of missionaries, who not only is his own editor, compositor, and printer, but has invented a most ingenious syllabary, which is easily learnt; so that Indians who have no idea what writing is, have been known to learn to read and write this language with perfect correctness after two or three days' instruction.

The Antarctic Continent.—One of the most interesting papers read at the Geographical Congress in August was that of Herr Borchgravink, a young Norwegian, who with his companions landed on Cape Adair, and was probably the first human being to set foot on the great continent of the South Pole, conjectured to contain a land mass perhaps twice the size of Europe, and absolutely unknown to science. The explorer was compelled to work his passage before the mast in the whaler *Antarctic* as the only way of reaching his destination, and was consequently unable to make any regular scientific observations. Sailing from Melbourne on September 20, 1894, they saw the Aurora Australis for the first time on October 18, in about 34° S. latitude. It formed a shining ellipse above the horizon with a periodic splendour culminating about once in five minutes and dying out in the intervals. In latitude 58°, on November 6, a great ice-barrier, or chain of barriers, was sighted, extending for forty or fifty miles from east to north-west. With a level top as white as snow it attained a maximum elevation of 600 feet, the sides towering in cliffs of ashen grey channelled with green caves, through which the seas raged and roared, spouting from the summit in fountains of spray. In the beginning of December they reached the great fields of ice entered by Sir James Ross on January 5, 1841, with the *Erebus* and *Terror*. Working their way through the floes, which grew larger as land was approached, the Arctic Circle was just reached on December 24, and the speaker believed they were the only people who ever saw the midnight sun on Christmas Eve. Cape Adair, in Victoria Land, sighted on January 16, consisted of a mass of basalt 3779 feet high, from whose summit was afforded a view of the coast of Victoria Land stretching to the west and south as far as the eye could reach. Its frowning shores rose from bare and barren rocks to peaks of ice 12,000 feet above the sea, Mount Sabine towering above the rest under the level rays of the midnight sun. The lofty cones sent down great streams of ice, and twenty of these glaciers were counted in the immediate vicinity of Cape Adair. The landing of the party was disputed by flocks of penguins, whose hoarse screams expressed their indignation at the presence of the intruders. The accumulated deposits of guano may be a valuable addition to the resources of Australasia. The adventurous traveller recommended regular exploration of the Antarctic continent, and offered to lead a land party either on snow-shoes or with dog-sledges to be landed on the pack or the mainland at Colman Island, whence a journey of 160 miles would bring them to the South Magnetic Pole.

News from the Upper Nile.—The *Times* of August 6 publishes the substance of letters which had just reached England, giving an account of the state of affairs in the countries north of Uganda in the middle of March. Major Cunningham and Lieutenant Vandeleur had been despatched in the previous December to Unyoro, with directions to take over the country and then proceed as far as possible down the Nile in order to report on the situation along that river. They succeeded in bringing their ponies safely to Fort Hoima, the headquarters of the force holding Unyoro, after a journey of thirteen days from Victoria Nyanza, through a country in which the crossing of five or six swamps was the only obstacle to fair travelling. In a steel boat, carrying sixteen men and a Maxim gun, the two officers successfully navigated the Nile as far as Dufile, reached on January 14. They learned that the dervishes were in occupation of Rejaf, from which it seems probable that the Belgian Congo Free State forces, which had taken possession of Lado, must have withdrawn from it, as otherwise the Khalifa's outpost would be cut off from its communications with his headquarters. The rapids below Dufile being found impassable, the party returned to Lake Albert, their progress being much delayed by the strength of the current, especially below Wadelai. The country on both sides of the river seemed arid and barren as seen from the deck of the steamer. During February there was some fighting in Unyoro between Kabarega and a force which had marched north from Uganda. The result of these operations, in which Captain Dunning was fatally and Major Cunningham severely wounded, was that Kabarega was compelled to cross the Somerset Nile and take refuge in the Bakedi country. The column, having achieved its object, returned to Uganda, leaving Major Cunningham at Fort Hoima in Unyoro, with Lieutenant Vandeleur in temporary command. As regards the movements of the Khalifa, it is not thought likely that he will attempt an advance in this direction, although he is evidently anxious about affairs on the Upper Nile, fearing to find himself hemmed in between the British there and the Italians at Kassala.

Swamp Vegetation in British Guiana.—Mr. Rodway, in his volume "In the Guiana Forest" (Fisher Unwin, 1894), devotes some interesting pages to a description of the work done by the *courida* (*Avicenna Nitida*), long confounded by old writers with the mangrove, in reclaiming land from the sea. This it does by the agency of its roots, which extend laterally to a great distance in a tangle of inter-

lacing fibres with upward growing shoots, forming a close palisade of woody pegs giving coherency to the mass. This natural fascine collects and stops all the deposit of the streams, until mud and vegetable *débris* become sufficiently compacted together to form new islands, or extensions of the coast-line of the mainland. The mangrove assists in the same work, but in a different way, sending down aerial roots from its branches, which in their turn spring up into fresh trunks. As an instance of the additions thus formed to the continent and its outlying archipelagoes, the author describes the formation within this century of a new headland on the coast of Demerara, known as Courabunna Point. The creek, which originally drained the adjacent land, having been gradually diminished, as its waters were diverted by the sugar plantations established on its banks, had no longer a current sufficiently strong to clear away the mud from its estuary, where it consequently formed a shoal narrowing its outlet to a small channel on either side. On this vantage ground the floating seeds of courida found a lodgment, and growing into a thicket, extended the dimensions of the island. The latter eventually became united to the mainland as a headland or promontory, completely closing the smaller channel, and leaving the river but a single outlet. In course of time even this became obstructed, and as more plantations caused a still greater diversion of the stream, it finally ceased to exist, and is now completely obliterated. By similar action of vegetation, a sandbank at the mouth of the Essequibo river, marked as such on the charts of the early part of the century, has been converted into an island two miles in length by one in breadth. It owes its name, Dauntless Island, to the immediate cause of its existence, the shipwreck in 1862 of the schooner *Dauntless*, whose spars, projecting through the water, intercepted some of the floating tangle, and thus provided a foothold for the aggressive courida, the most energetic of vegetable invaders, in stretching to an ell the first inch of ground conceded to it.

Railways for West Africa.—The neglect of the British West African colonies has restricted their usefulness to the Empire at large. Although they have been for four hundred years in the possession of the Crown, they remain little more than a selva of beach, in some places extending only half a mile from the coast. The Royal Niger Company, on the other hand, within ten years of its formal constitution, administers an area of half a million square miles, with a population of some twenty-five or twenty-six millions. The amount of the trade of the West Coast is, neverthe-

less, not far short of £7,000,000 per annum, of which three-fourths is transacted with the mother country. The deputation that waited on Mr. Chamberlain on August 25, received satisfactory assurances of the prospects of railway construction to develop the resources of the West Coast, and as regards Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, the preliminary arrangements are already in a forward state. The latter colony, whose coast-line extends for 350 miles from the French settlement of Grand Bassam to German Togoland, covers with its protectorate about 40,000 square miles, mostly smothered in dense forest, the timber having been cleared only for a short distance from the coast. As there are no good roads, and the rivers are not navigable, all transport has to be effected by native porters. The palm oil trade, consequently, does not extend more than 50 miles from the coast, although the oil palm abounds. The railway intended to render this region accessible, will lead from Apam on the coast to a distance of some 55 miles inland, to a point where several important routes meet, and whence it can eventually be continued to Ashanti. It will thus open up a rich district, with the prospect of extension to the track of the Arab caravans to the interior. The cost of the first section is estimated at £350,000, and in order to cover interest on capital, calculated at £17,500, and working expenses put down as £13,000, a return of £30,500 would be required, which it is calculated a charge of 17s. 2d. on the present amount of traffic would produce. As a saving of over £9 a ton would be effected on the actual rate of carriage, a large increase may be reasonably looked for. The line from Sierra Leone is intended to extend from Freetown towards Bumban, a native town of 2000 inhabitants, the capital of the important district of Limba. The route of 140 miles surveyed passes through a fairly populous country, and strikes some of the tracks of existing trade with the interior. The cost is estimated at £650,000 and interest and working expenses at over £60,000 per annum.

Silver Production at Broken Hill.—Mr. Moreton Frewen, in the September number of the *Contemporary Review*, shows reason for believing that New South Wales possesses in the celebrated Broken Hill mine the greatest silver deposit the world has ever seen. He compares it to Comstock, the great "bonanza" of Nevada, which from the time it was first struck in 1864, produced over a hundred millions sterling of the precious metals, £65,000,000 worth of silver and £35,000,000 of gold. Even this production may, he thinks, be outdone by that of Broken Hill, although it has as yet yielded in

ten years but £15,000,000. The calculation is based on the mass of sulphide ores, estimated at 20,000 tons, already in sight, which probably contain silver, lead, and zinc in sufficient quantity to bring the gross yield up to £150,000,000. The number of miners and smelters employed was 4700, and the production for 1894 was 3,000,000 sterling, or £643 16s. a head. Considering the number of other industries dependent on the camp, its expenditure of £400 a day on timber, of £1,500,000 a year on coal, coke, and limestone, and of £160,000 a year on freight, the writer concludes that its silver "bonanza" alone is worth to the colony nearly as much as its entire agricultural population, which outnumbered that of the camp by 13 to 1. Its future depends, in his estimation, mainly on the solution of what he calls the greatest metallurgical problem of the day—how to effect the cheap separation of silver-lead from zinc so as to save the three metals.

Mining Prospects in British Columbia.—Mr. C. Phillipp Woolley and Mr. W. C. Prescott write in the *Times* of August 16 and September 4, on the growing development of the mining industry of British Columbia, mostly under the influence of United States capital. Three railways are now competing for the produce of the West Kootenay district, where there were none in 1890, and in 1894-5 24,000 tons of silver-lead ore were shipped thence. A gold bearing belt of ore has been discovered and opened up since last year, and the camp of Rossland, which consisted of four huts in 1894, has now some 2000 inhabitants. The War Eagle mine has, since its purchase last December, paid dividends covering its entire price and all subsequent expenses, while ten times its original price has been offered for it. The Cliff mine and the Northern Star are situated on what is described as "one of the most remarkable fissure veins ever yet discovered in any country." The space of some 300 ft. between its walls is filled up by the Mammoth vein, which has been followed for six miles in a straight line without any appearance of a break. The Slocan Star mine in the silver-lead district is said to give promise of rivalling that of Broken Hill in productiveness. British Columbia has since 1859 contributed 10,000,000 sterling's worth of gold to the common stock, of which the greater part was yielded by the still unexhausted Cariboo mine. The principal mining fields enjoy the advantage of water communication, by the Arrow lakes, Kootenay lake and river, and Columbia river, while deposits of coal in the immediate neighbourhood will facilitate the

working of the railways. A good road thirteen miles in length connects Rossland with the Columbia river, so that access to it is comparatively easy.

Navigation of the Mekong.—An arduous and successful voyage on the Mekong is announced in a telegram of September 5 by the *Times* correspondent in Paris. Lieutenant Simon has performed the feat of carrying a French gunboat as far as Luang Prabang nearly 1500 miles from the sea, as the result of two years' labour. The vessel had indeed to be transported past the rapids of Khong on a short temporary railway, but was navigated up those of Kemerab, sixty miles in length, at the cost of six days of such critical work, as one of the subordinate officers says, no personal consideration would induce him to undergo again. From above Khong to the foot of these rapids the river may serve for trade, except in spring, when it is too shallow, but above Wien-kang the river cannot be regarded as navigable for practical purposes. The expedition may, however, have a considerable effect in diverting the trade of the Laos country from Bangkok to Saigon, as the chiefs repeatedly asked the officers about the comparative cost of sending goods by the two routes.

Notices of Books.

Saint Thomas et Le Prédéterminisme. Par H. GAYRAUD,
Ancien Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse. Paris :
P. Lethielleux, Libraire-Éditeur. Rue Cassette. Pp. 137.

HOW our freedom of will is to be reconciled with the science, will, and operation of God is a question which has engaged the attention of theologians since the days of St. Augustine. The heresies concerning the effects of original sin, grace, and predestination which were introduced during the sixteenth century brought the question into still greater prominence; and there arose, in consequence, the two opposite schools of Thomists and Molinists. The Thomists were for some time rather inclined to doubt the orthodoxy of the Molinist position. It seemed to them that the Molinists safeguarded the freedom of the will at the expense of the divine causality. The Molinists were at least equally inclined to doubt the orthodoxy of the Thomist position. It seemed to them that the Thomists safeguarded the divine causality at the expense of the freedom of the will. The decision of the Holy See has long since made this stage of the controversy a matter of mere history. But whether the Thomists or the Molinists are the truer exponents of the mind of St. Thomas remains an open question and is still with sufficient heat debated. Massive volumes like those of Dummermuth, Schneeman, and Frins continue to appear on one side or the other. But now comes forward M. Gayraud to declare, and if possible prove, that St. Thomas was neither a Thomist nor a Molinist. This might strike us as a little temerarious were it not that there have always been theologians who, like Cardinal Pecci and Satolli in our own day, have stood aloof from the contending schools and claimed to base their position on the teaching of St. Thomas. That M. Gayraud has made good his case we are not prepared to say; but his brochure deserves the attention of those who still have an open mind upon the question.

The Venerable Vincent Pallotti, Founder of the Pious Society of Missions. By the Lady HERBERT, with Preface by H. E. Cardinal VAUGHAN. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. 1894.

WE are indebted to Lady Herbert for another edifying biography : it is a distinct addition to the comparatively small number of such lives that are accessible to English readers. And it has some special claims on their attention. In the first place the subject of it, Vincent Pallotti, belongs to our own century. He died in 1850 ; he was acquainted with many of our own countrymen, visitors or residents in Rome, who have only died of recent years ; a few may remain of those who knew him. Yet, one of our own day as he was, his life is one of a faith and piety quite primitive and marvellous. He was an apostle of Rome, not unlike St. Philip Neri in many details ; a man of good birth, fair talent, singular humility, and of a zeal as uncompromising as it was joyous and affectionate. His methods of direction, supernatural instincts, and knowledge of hearts again recall St. Philip. To all this is to be added that in his zeal for souls he thought of England and longed to see a college founded in England devoted to the education of priests to be sent on foreign missions, to labour for the conversion of infidel nations. We learn from a letter quoted by the Cardinal Archbishop in his Preface that Father Pallotti communicated this desire to Dr. Wiseman on the eve of the latter's consecration in Rome. Later on, when the present Cardinal, then a young priest, made known his own earnest desire in the same direction, he found Cardinal Wiseman ready to encourage and bless the idea ; not, as Cardinal Wiseman wrote, "from mere personal kindness or over-eager zeal," but because "it is an old and often meditated idea, suggested, or even pressed upon me by a higher and holier mind than yours or mine." The outcome of this was the College of Mill Hill. And perhaps the wonderful success of Mill Hill and of its children, already in so many distant lands the bearers of the glad tidings to the heathen, is, to some extent, due to the prayers and patronage of the Venerable Vincent Pallotti. Further than this, we are indebted to the same holy man for one of our large London missions. He founded the congregation of priests known as the "Pious Society of Missions" ; and a number of them have long served the Church of Hatton Garden and the populous district around. We learn from this volume that the Fathers have also a large mission at Hastings, where very many conversions have resulted from their labours. Lady Herbert writes with directness and simplicity of style, quite becoming a most unworldly life, and with-

out feeling (and rightly) any call upon her to apologise for the marvels with which the life abounds—supernatural gifts, prophecies, miracles, ecstasies, and the rest. It is the life of an apostolic priest—already declared “Venerable” on 13th January, 1887, by Pope Leo XIII.—and being a life of intense faith, has not only the supernatural side just mentioned, but is full of practical lessons for both priest and layman of wonderful self-sacrificing charity. We hope the volume—it contains not quite one hundred and sixty pages—will find many readers.

Outlines of Dogmatic Theology. By SYLVESTER JOSEPH HUNTER, of the Society of Jesus. Volume II. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895. Pp. 596.

STUDENTS accustomed to the concise style which usually characterises text-books of theology, and especially of scholastic theology, will no doubt find it a little difficult to accustom themselves to the diffuse style of the “Outlines.” But it must be remembered that Father Hunter is not writing for professional students. He is writing for that constantly increasing number of intelligent Catholic laymen who desire to possess a systematic acquaintance with theology, and have hitherto had to content themselves with treatises like those of Bishop Hay. We have no wish to disparage the works of Bishop Hay. That they met a very real demand is evident from the large number of editions through which they have passed. But, excellent though they may be, they will not compare with the text-books of Fr. Hunter. To Catholic laymen, then, who have sufficient appreciation of their faith to desire a detailed and systematic acquaintance with Catholic doctrine, we recommend the “Outlines of Dogmatic Theology.” But it is not to laymen only that the “Outlines” will be useful. They might be of much assistance to students in our theological seminaries. In some of our seminaries there is, in addition to the ordinary course, what is known as the “short course” of Theology. The “short course” is intended for students who are a little older or a little less bright than the average, and the lectures in this course are delivered in English. To the students that follow the short course the “Outlines” ought to be particularly acceptable, and indeed we think that for them it might very well serve as a text-book. The present volume of the “Outlines,” like its predecessor, contains six treatises. These treatises are—The One God; The Blessed Trinity; The Creation of the Angels; Man created and fallen; The Incarnation; and The Blessed Virgin Mary. That we consider the style of Fr. Hunter somewhat

diffuse we have already indicated. But if his style be diffuse, it is at least clear and plain; and this is no small merit when the subject-matter is so abstruse. Occasionally, indeed, there is a want of lucidity, as when our author writes:

At the present day there is general agreement that certain texts of Scripture cannot be understood in any sense which does not imply that God possesses the *scientia media*, and the doctrine of these texts must be accepted, however great may be the difficulty of explaining the *how* of this knowledge (p. 90).

We presume that Fr. Hunter's meaning is that there is general agreement that God possesses that knowledge of things which Molinists ascribe to the *scientia media*. But it is one thing to admit the knowledge and quite another thing to ascribe the knowledge to the *scientia media*. As Fr. Hunter himself writes: "The Thomists did not see the necessity of assigning these objects to a distinct division (*scientia media*) of the Divine knowledge" (p. 99). But though Fr. Hunter advocates the *scientia media*, he is delightfully uncontroversial. He wastes no time on controversy, and he is scrupulously fair to those that differ from him in opinion. We trust that Fr. Hunter, after he has completed the "Outlines," will write a compendium of it in a single volume, corresponding in size to the volume under review. If the compendium rigidly excludes the comparatively unimportant, rigidly excludes unnecessary words on what is important, dovetails part skilfully into part so that Theology may be seen as what it is, an organic whole, it will be, we believe, the most successful book that has been published in English Catholic literature for many years past.

Loyalty to Church and State. By Monsignor SATOLLI. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1895. Pp. 249.

THESE speeches are very unequal in style. The reason no doubt is that they are translations by various hands. It was Monsignor Satolli's custom to dictate the proposed address in Latin or Italian, and it was then translated into English by his secretary or one of his retinue. But though unequal in style, they are characterised by a consistency and unity of thought. The subject-matter of the addresses covers a large field. The Papacy, the constitution of the Church, the spirit of American institutions, education, religious associations and confraternities, and many other topics are discussed. The following extract, taken from the account prefixed to the "Address at Chicago," shows the enthusiasm with which the

Apostolic Delegate was received at the Catholic Congress in that city :

The Delegate seemed himself as much astounded as the still fervent assembly was charmed. His flashing black eyes shone with extraordinary emotion. He stood beside Archbishop Ireland, enthralled by the wonderful welcome that in its sincerity was matched only by its length and its ardor. The people continued to cheer, volley after volley reaching the great avenue upon which the congress building stood : the throngs in the thoroughfares were stopped by its echoes to ask the cause of so prolonged a demonstration of cordiality and delight (p. 142).

We do not understand the meaning of the words "the still fervent assembly" in the above extract. "Still" cannot be an adjective, because the fervent assembly was sending up cheers in volley after volley. It cannot well be an adverb of time, because the Delegate had only just entered, and the presumption would be, of course, against the cessation of their fervour immediately upon his appearance. The volume contains a preface by Cardinal Gibbons and an excellent portrait of Monsignor Satolli. As the proceeds of the sale are to go to the support of St. Joseph's Seminary and Epiphany Apostolic College for the training of missionaries for the coloured people, we trust that the book may have a wide circulation.

Theologia Naturalis sive Philosophia de Deo in usum scholarum. Auctore BERNARDO BOEDDER, S.J. Friburgi, Brisgoviae, sumptibus Herder, Typographi Editoris Pontificii. 1895. Pp. 371.

FR. BOEDDER is favourably known to English readers through the excellent treatise on "Natural Theology" which he contributed to the Stoneyhurst series of Manuals of Catholic Philosophy. The volume under review is in no sense a translation of "Natural Theology." The style is different, the method is different ; it is addressed to a distinct class of readers. In "Natural Theology" Fr. Boedder gave evidence of a large acquaintance with English philosophical thought. The references to English systems are less frequent in "Theologia Naturalis." The reason of this is, of course, obvious. The former treatise was written especially for English readers, the latter treatise was not. Nevertheless in "Theologia Naturalis," far greater attention is given to contemporaneous English thought than is usual in Latin text-books. This confers a very distinct advantage on the treatise. The students in our ecclesiastical colleges invariably make use of Latin text-books when

studying philosophy. The reason of this is, perhaps, not altogether apparent. The practice of Rome in this respect does not seem to the purpose. In Rome students of many nationalities attend the lectures. Where there is no native common language, an artificial one must be introduced; and Latin, as more extensively known by students in Rome, is more suitable than Italian. Possibly, so far as England is concerned, it may be one day considered that the tradition which requires Latin text-books has had nothing higher to support it than the mere fact of an absence of suitable text-books in English. But so long as Latin text-books are in use, surely the text-books supplied ought to take account of the systems prevalent in this country. As a matter of fact they do little or nothing of the kind. The frequent references that we find, then, to English philosophical thought in "*Theologia Naturalis*" make it valuable as a Latin text-book. We find a similar attention to English thought in Fr. Boedder's "*Psychologia Rationalis*." But "*Theologia Naturalis*" has other claims to commendation besides the one mentioned. It is valuable for the immense quantity of well-ordered matter which it contains, for the closeness of its reasoning, the originality of its presentation, and frequently for the freshness of its quotations.

The Bible Doctrine of Man. By JOHN LAIDLAW, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology, New College, Edinburgh; Author of "*The Miracles of Our Lord*," &c. New edition, revised and re-arranged. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1895. Pp. 363.

THERE is evidence of much learning in the earlier portion of this work, but, taken as a whole, it contains little that would commend itself to Catholic readers. Much of the volume is taken up with considerations of man's original state, his fall, the consequences of his fall, and the transmission of Adam's fall and its consequences to his descendants. So imperfect is our author's acquaintance with the attitude of Catholic Theology to Pelagianism that he stigmatises the doctrine of the Church on these points as Pelagian. What his own teaching may be is not always apparent; but when he writes

This position Protestants had to maintain against Romish controversialists on the one hand and Socinians on the other. These were not so much two extremes as two diverse modes of Pelagianising. The more subtle is that of the Romanists who seem to exalt the divine image in man by adding to it that peculiar feature which they call supernatural,

it seems to us that Professor Laidlaw is the Pelagian. Surely it was the leading tenet of the Pelagian heresy that Adam's state was one of pure nature unelevated by grace. They were as careful to refrain from "adding to it that peculiar feature which they call supernatural" as Professor Laidlaw himself.

Socialism. By Lord NORTON. London: Rivington, Percival & Co. 1895. Pp. 35.

WE are undecided whether to regard "Socialism" as a book or as a collection of notes which it is intended one day to expand into a book. In any case it is a very sketchy and imperfect performance. The writer gives the various definitions of socialism, argues that though a complete social level is impossible, the existing inequality of conditions may be reduced, describes in fragmentary fashion the socialistic schemes of the last hundred years, explains Christian Socialism, points out what charity can do and the method in which it ought to do it, discusses guilds, trade unions, brotherhoods, monasteries, and vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. In the course of his excursions he has some hits at monasticism and celibacy, and smiles approval on Archbishop Whateley, who "in his grand opening essay in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' condemns the whole spirit of monasticism as contrary to the essential unity of mankind" (p. 24). The best thing in the book is a short quotation from Edmund Burke on p. 5.

An Exposition of the Various Divisions of Infidelity. By the Rev. M. P. HORGAN, St. Patrick's, Sunderland. Vol. I. Price Sixpence. Louth: J. W. Goulding, 20 Mercer Row. 1895. Pp. 106.

THIS is an attempt to present in a brief and popular manner some of the many forms of infidelity. The writer expresses his mind with an unconventional plainness. Thus, after describing the doctrine of Spinoza, he writes:

It is astonishing that one could be found amongst the race of mankind capable of advancing such astounding presumptions; but still more wonderful is it that others could be found who would call him a great philosopher instead of calling him a great fool (p. 24).

And again:

Kant believed he had settled all the question of reason on a firm basis, and his philosophy was to have a reign without end. Then Fichte rose and gave his master's philosophy such a hearty Teutonic blow, that it failed to keep upright, and fell. Reinhold planked himself between the two. Schilling came, and changed, and changed, and changing left the scene. Hegel came, and God only knows the divisions of his disciples, right and left, forward, backward, up, down, until chaos came again, and by right ruled supreme over the brood of deep thinkers of the German philosophical world (p. 28).

Besides being an exposition of heresy, Fr. Horgan's brochure is designed to be a refutation of it.

Homiletical Sermon Sketches on the Sunday Epistles, drawn up by a Committee of Priests, and Edited by the Rev. W. M. CUNNINGHAM. London: St. Anselm's Society, 7 Agar Street, Charing Cross. 1895. Pp. 149.

WE believe that, as a matter of fact, the Epistles supply the subject-matter of sermons far less frequently than should be the case. Perhaps the reason may be that priests, with the many calls of mission life upon them, rarely have time to think out sermons for themselves, and are obliged to seek assistance from published sermons which, for the most part, deal rather with the Gospels than the Epistles. But, whatever the cause may be, the fact is much to be regretted. There are rich mines of dogma and moral in the Epistles which, so far as the purposes of preaching go, have not sufficiently been explored. It is with pleasure, then, that we welcome the little volume which lies before us. It draws a useful lesson from the Epistle for each Sunday of the year. The lesson is generally very practical and, for the preacher, is presented in an unusually attractive form. Published sermons are frequently such that a preacher must take all or leave all. There are no suggestions, no indications; a single thought is strained till snapping point. But the "Homiletical Sermon Sketches" are true to their name. They present an outline, suggest thoughts, and leave the development to the preacher.

Some Side-Lights on the Oxford Movement. By MINIMA PARSPARTIS. London and Leamington: Art & Book Company. 1895.

IT is rare to find an *Apologia* written long after conversion, the instinct of most converts of a literary turn being to give others their reasons for becoming Catholics, and to endeavour to persuade

them to follow their example with the least possible delay. Nevertheless, there is something to be said for those who, like "*Minima Parspartis*," pursue the opposite course. A calm retrospect, after a long interval of steady, quiet, Catholic life, may enable an author to describe the great transition from darkness to light more clearly, more temperately, with a fuller appreciation of cause and effect, and with more usefulness to others, than during the period which immediately follows it.

This "story is intended for women," and it is but fair to bear this in mind when subjecting it to criticism.

Among the chief charms of the book are the modesty and humility of "*Minima Parspartis*"; and it may be owing to a superabundance of these virtues that she has allotted an enormous amount of her space to the letters of others, especially those of Mr. Aubrey de Vere. Be the reason what it may, there they are; and, in no unfriendly spirit to the author, we confess to the opinion that Mr. Aubrey de Vere has written the best portions of her book. Not that we are unappreciative of her own work. Her tone is temperate and charitable, her style is fair, and not altogether without a gentle and natural humour. Perhaps, if we had not been warned in her preface that she was writing for women only, we might have considered her a little emotional; but, under the circumstances, that may pass. Two criticisms on the book, however, may fairly be offered: the first that the very long quotations from the author's diary, when abroad, throw no "Light" whatever "On the Oxford Movement"; the second that, excellent as are many of the letters from friends which she has inserted, there are not a few which she might have omitted without loss to her readers.

La Domination Française en Belgique : Directoire—Consulat—Empire : 1795–1814. Par L. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE. 2 tomes. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1895.

THE system of developing history from State papers which the late Von Sybel, in his "*Historische Zeitschrift*," and when Director of the Prussian Archives, advanced in Germany, has an able supporter in M. de Laborie.

While awaiting the fruit of the labours of M. Chuquet and the completion of those of M. Paul Verhoegen—the one military and political, the other by a local specialist—we welcome these researches in French sources on the administration of Belgium by France from the accomplished historian of J. J. Mounier. Bearing the charac-

teristics of an authoritative work, we do not hesitate to recognise it as a study which, for extent of knowledge, nicety of discrimination, and art of presentment, will enhance the reputation that book brought him.

The history of Belgium under the hand of the Directory, with its destructive maladministration, may not, save in the thoroughness of its examination, break quite new ground. But we are not aware of any other work which traces the imposition of French ideas and their measured acceptance under the Consulate with its constructive failures, and under the Empire with experimental statesmanship making for disintegration. These, while diverse in the means employed to bring about the absorption of the Belgians, were at one in their complete failure to achieve, either by assimilation or administration, that moral conquest without which peoples remain strangers. So that the discontent over which the commissioners of the Directory ruled up to 1799 was still active under the prefects of the Empire in 1814.

The admirable idea of such a history is due perhaps to the author of "*L'Europe et la Revolution Française*." But the lengthened study of the administrative correspondence preserved in the National Archives at Paris, official texts and contemporary narratives it entailed, prove M. de Laborie to have been worthy the confidence M. Albert Sorel placed in him.

It is incontestable, which perhaps M. de Laborie does not seize in its full significance, that whether governed from Madrid or Vienna the Belgians continued a people homogeneous. Yet, incessantly under foreign dominion, their repugnance to coalesce with a country at one with them in religion and language is a problem in history of singular interest. M. de Laborie has brought to its elucidation the temper of a true historian. Without being either profound or exhaustive his faculty for sifting, comparing, weighing evidence is strong; his impartiality sound; and his judgments impress themselves as the outcome of thought and information. In dealing with a mass of subject-matter his constructive skill is notable; in marshalling and concentrating it on certain vital points, in giving due position to details and the place sympathy should be allowed in producing a living picture, he is excellent. We are conscious of antipathies; but he is, on the whole, free from their bias. The pages he devotes to the wretched statescraft of the Directory are mordant but just; those given to the Peasant's War brilliant and chivalrous; those to the Consulate informing and generous; those to the Empire searching and incisive.

M. Flammarion has told us that "French Royalty ever knew

how to use the best means for quickly conciliating the sympathy and affection of provinces recently reunited to the Crown. . . . The principal was its respect for the customs, the habits, the constitution of its new subjects." The art was apparently lost to the Republic and the Empire. The former made Belgium the unhappy hunting-ground for its adventurers,* some of whom could not write; a mine for extracting the sinews of war and rapacity; where its assignats (paper money) fell in value during two years (1794-6) 99 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The latter, its field for experiments in alien politics: in contempt of the sentiments and usages of those it tried to govern; of its mania for unification at any price; of its conscription; and of its Gallican insinances.

One of the strongest concurrent causes of the French failure to assimilate the Belgians was, M. de Laborie finds, their treatment of the religious question. We incline to go further and see in it the one predominant cause. Though M. le Comte Boulay de la Meurthe's ecclesiastical history of the Directoire, Consulate, et Empire is still in the future, Sciout, Pierre, and the Canons Claessen and Davis form a basis of authority for sounding this difficult problem. Of these M. de Laborie has availed, except, unfortunately, of the last. When Joseph II. determined to impose his religious innovations on the Belgians, treating as he willed their usages, affections, and inclinations; and to force his "philosophic" spirit and liberalism on Brabant, as he had done on Austria and Lombardy, he came to ignominious grief. The lesson had no teaching for Napoleon. The touch of disdain noticeable in M. de Laborie's attitude to those members of the Episcopate who were inclined to see in Buonaparte—there was sufficient genius in the consulate to excuse the idea—a God-sent deliverer, is not quite in keeping with his usual calm, and betrays a judgment influenced by an after-knowledge of Napoleon impossible to his then contemporaries. But his whole treatment of Napoleon's dealings with Belgium is thoughtful and unanswerable. Finely just, too, his handling of Pisani, de Broglie, and Hirn, who so firmly withstood the pretensions of imperial authority in matters ecclesiastical, as also of that *prêtre du dieu Mars*, de Pradt—who did not.

By the Emperor's attempt to enforce that regal curiosity, the Napoleonic Catechism, the subscription of Seminarists to the

* On January 28, 1796, the Central Commissioner of Jemmappes wrote the Minister of Police: "A force de chercher, j'ai enfin trouvé deux espions, qui servent merveilleusement la République; l'un est deserteur d'un régiment français, et l'autre un perruquier français, émigré et voleur. Je les emploie l'un et l'autre. . . ."

Declaration of 1682—this in a country distinctly opposed to Gallicanism, whose clergy and university had always unanimously upheld the pontifical prerogatives; the establishment of an Imperial University (against which the feeling was so great that M. Hirn wrote the Minister of Worship, “*que beaucoup d’écoles secondaires et de pensionnats ont cessé tout enseignement plutôt que de s’y agréger*”)—the Belgians were wounded in their sacred sensitiveness. “*Les Français qui occupent les diverses places,*” boldly wrote M. Pisani to the Emperor, whose political genius comes out badly in these volumes, “*devraient en général montrer plus de religion, et le Belge, si zélé pour la sienne n’aurait plus de motifs de se scandaliser de leur conduite.*” But when the “*Restaurateur des autels*”—who to use his own words, *n’aima par le soldat dévot*—invaded the States of the Church and made Pius prisoner, his last hold in Belgium was gone, and *Le Débat* only a question of time. Prayers for the Emperor ceased. Not as de Pradt says because the English were before Antwerp and Napoleon’s star was overcast, but, as M. de Laborie points out, because they scrupled to pray for one excommunicated.

The judicious caution of M. de Laborie’s mind is well illustrated by his treatment of the question of M. Hirn’s personal morality, seriously assailed by Savary in the *Mémoires du duc de Rovigo*. In this he is superior to Thiers, who accepted Savary at his own value.

Historical students have long owed much to Messrs. Plon; this last debt is by no means the least. But how came such careful publishers to issue an important history without an index?

D. M. O’C.

The First two Centuries of Florentine History: The Republic and Parties at the Time of Dante. By Professor PASQUALE VILLARI. Translated by LINDE VILLARI. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

HAD Filicaja’s famous sonnet been addressed to Florence, the history in this book would have been its justification. For it was through a dowry of endless pain with a seal of sorrow set upon her that she carried her fatal gift of beauty, mid the blood of her sons, to a brilliancy of achievement paralleled only by that of Athens. By aggression, war, strategy, and treachery, through personal hatreds and the feuds of generations, she became the awakener of poetry, the renewer of painting, the perfecter of sculpture and architecture, the trainer of diplomatists, the cradle of merchant princes, the

Banker of her continent, founding her liberties amid the envy of her nation.

The theme is captivating in the extreme, with its light and shade, its pathos and enthusiasm, its cruelty and its glory. Developing the permanence of the Latin civilisation amid barbarian Goths and Longobards, its growth under feudalism, until from a state of vassalage whether under Bishop, Count, or Emperor, Florence, with the eleventh century, attained its freedom in the Commune under the encouragement of the Popes as Professor Villari admits, though questioning their motive—a creation of the third estate whence modern society has been evolved.

The facts of this development, its vicissitudes, struggles, dangers, and triumphs are detailed by Professor Villari with a knowledge and research which are very acceptable and worthy all praise. The conflicts of Germanic origins and institutions with Roman origins and traditions, entailing an almost endless feud of city and city; the grouping of families into trade monopolists with their consequent jealousies, rivalries, and factions; the unity of all against a common foe; the gradual leadership of the more leisured; the military and political power they created; its transference to the people; their strength in Guilds with the power and riches they secured; the art and luxury which followed, with the decay inevitable in their wake—through all the multiplicity and confusion of this Professor Villari leads us with clear head and firm hand.

And yet satisfactory as an investigation of the nature of the constitution, of the factions, of the Commerce out of which the Florentine Republic took form and was built up, we do not escape the feeling that it is the work rather of a compiler of history than of a historian. In his arrangement of authorities, in his unwearied examination of documents and the lucidity of their exposition he is excellent. But he infuses no vivifying grace into them. The finer insight into movements, the higher comprehension of statesmanship, the power to reveal the hidden springs of action are wanting. His reading of motives is commonplace, his apprehension of their complexities jejune; while his assessment of history as a field of man's development is by no means penetrating. We regret to have been forced to this conclusion, as his accumulation of documentary evidence and his acquaintance with Florentine story are of importance to historical students.

This lack of largeness of appreciation, the bias which constantly makes us hesitate to accept his judgments, is most apparent in his dealings with the Papacy, one of the most potent factors in the creation of the liberties he is studying. In dealing, for example,

with the formation and object of the Tuscan League his statements of fact are correct. But a comparison of his tone with that of the Lutheran Hurter on the same subject differentiates severely the compiler of history and the historian. The impression Professor Villari conveys is that Innocent, one of the wisest and firmest statesmen Italy has produced, the inflexible defender of her highest liberties, was heedless of her welfare if his own grasping ends were gained. To Hurter he is the man who saved the Papacy from becoming a patriarchate of the Court of Hohenstaufen and Christianity from being a child of its caprices.

His special aversion is Clement IV. The action of this Prince in supporting the Angevin power as a foil to Swabian greed, and then when it grew dangerous checking it also, has no motive to Professor Villari's mind than "the Popes' usual anxiety and dread of losing their supremacy in Italy" for which they ever "resolved in calling fresh strangers to their aid and thus drew fresh miseries on the land." Probably no action of the Papacy—a line of statesmanship initiated by Adrian IV. and Alexander III. and steadily pursued by Clement IV., Gregory X., and Nicholas III.—proved more helpful to the liberties of the Republics than their far-seeing policy of restraining both Imperial and Angevin power as it became absorbing. The policy was eminently patriotic and in many cases finely unselfish: not the outcome of a greed the idea of which Professor Villari has borrowed from Machiavelli. Michaud is certainly no papal partisan, yet his "*Histoire des Croisades*" contains this judgment:

Had it not been for the influence of the Popes it is probable Europe would have been subject to the yoke of German Emperors. The policy of the Sovereign Pontiffs was favourable to the freedom of the cities and the independence of the smaller States of Germany. We do not fear to add that the thunders of the Holy See saved, at least for a time, the independence of Italy and perhaps that of France.

How far his feeling against Clement is allowed to influence his judgment comes out in the matter of Conradin's execution by Charles of Anjou. After denouncing the act and its perpetrator, he adds: "Opinions vary as to the Pope's share in the tragedy. It is certain that he beheld it in silence." His authority is Gregorovius, by no means the sound witness some reviews of his lately Englished history would have us think. It is clear from Alzog that energetic appeals were made both by Clement personally and by him through Louis IX. to Charles for mercy to the young Prince; and Raynaldus is most explicit that Ricordanus and John Villanus both "declare he—Charles—was most sternly rebuked by the Pope."

Gregory X.'s efforts to secure peace between those Guelphs and Ghibellines whose enmity was the curse of Florence are sneered at, and suspected of ulterior design, by Professor Villari. The solemn reconciliation he effected, when oaths of peace were sworn in the presence of the Pope, the Emperor of Byzantium and Charles of Anjou, he pronounces a "farce." Yet, another historian, again no Papal partisan, has this judgment of the Pope in his "History of the Italian Republics":

A glorious pontificate was that of Gregory X. Italy was almost entirely pacified by his impartial spirit at a time when the madness of civil feuds seemed to destroy all hope of repose.

The same presence of the animus of a compiler, the same absence of the temper of a historian, reveal themselves in his references to Cardinal Frangipani's endeavour for the same object at the instance of Nicholas III. For Professor Villari, Nicholas, "full of haughtiness and ambition," was the one who "renewed the scandalous practices of nepotism and simony." "The unproved and improbable accusation of simony" is Döllinger's judgment after examining the question. And this is the Prince who saved Tuscany from French Rule. For, although Florence was then all powerful in that duchy, it was the Pope, not the city, who compelled Charles to give up his vicariate there, and so broke his hold on Italy. The only motive Professor Villari sees in this act is aggrandisement of the Papacy and the rapacity of the Pope. Now shrewdness was certainly a pronounced characteristic of the Florentines of this day. If the Professor's reading of Nicholas's temperament be correct how came they, on his own showing, to appeal to him to effect the pacification of their city and so lay themselves open to another touch of his rapacity?

The ordinary account of Archbishop Ruggieri's starving to death of Ugolino with his sons and nephews is given, and the ordinary omission also occurs. It is not mentioned that for this crime Ruggieri was thrice summoned to Rome, and not obeying, was condemned in *contumaciam*; though the information is to be found in an author no more recondite than Balbo.

The Professor treats us to some new readings of history. It is calmly stated that the Emperor Frederic II. was exhausted by the continual wars thrust upon him by the Papacy; and that Innocent II. "forced him to fly to arms," and into "the incredible excesses of violence," "without which" he "could not maintain his sway over Italy"! And: "St. Dominic at the head of mobs thirsting for heretic blood had ordained the massacre of the Albigenses and ravaged all Provence"!

We regret an earnest student of historical documents should have endangered his reputation as an historian by such limited appraisements of the motives and actions of the Rulers of men. However, we shall approach the further volume Mr. Unwin has in hand without prejudice being, as he is, lovers of history.

D. M. O'C.

Memoir of Mother Mary Rose Columba Adams, O.P. By the Right Rev. W. R. BROWNLOW, D.D., Bishop of Clifton. London: Burns & Oates.

BORN near Woodchester in 1832, and received into the Catholic Church by F. Austin Maltus in 1851, Sophia Adams joined Mother Margaret Hallahan at Clifton, and after much good work at Stone and St. Marychurch, went out to Adelaide, where she died on December 30, 1891. The Bishop of Clifton, who knew her well during many years at St. Marychurch, writes an edifying and touching biography of one who was both a charming woman and a saintly nun. The book will be highly prized by her religious sisters, and especially by that community in North Adelaide which she founded. But all readers will be pleased and instructed by the picture here presented of a well-dowered and beautiful woman despising the world and living in religion with complete simplicity and absolute devotedness to God and to good works. The most novel, and therefore the most interesting, part of the story, is that which relates to Mother Rose's work in Australia. In July 1883, two ladies of Adelaide, with the warm approval of Bishop Reynolds, obtained six of the Stone sisters for the purpose of taking charge of a hospital at Adelaide. They were all volunteers, as their Rule did not permit them to be ordered out of Great Britain, and Mother Rose Columba was their Superior. The project of the hospital was a failure. It turned out that what the Sisters were expected to undertake was a hospital for both sexes, in which, as a matter of fact, there were four times as many men as women. This was against the Stone Rules. However, instead of coming back again, Mother Rose and her Sisters, at the earnest wish of the Bishop and clergy, stayed at Adelaide and gradually found their work as a virtually enclosed community. They opened a high-class school for girls, which soon began to be extremely successful. After many difficulties and hardships they established the work of the Perpetual Adoration. It is evident that Mother Rose came by degrees to think that this was the special purpose for which God had sent them to the Antipodes. Her letters, and those of her companions, give a very graphic and

detailed account of their beginning in Adelaide—their poverty, the peculiarities of the climate, their teaching-work, and their struggles in church-building. It is a very striking circumstance that the clergy were unanimous, from the beginning, in assuring them that they would do far more for the cause of religion by staying in their convent than by going out. "If you want to do any good here," said a priest, "keep within." And again, "I know some who have their eyes on this community, and are attracted to it, because you keep yourselves quiet and do not appear in public" (p. 267). Coming to Australia, these were hardly the views for which the Sisters were prepared:

Humanly speaking [wrote the Superior a few months after landing] we are *not* the religious for this place. Less of religious life and more freedom of action is what seems to be required. We have three times offered to visit the sick poor; a list of those to be visited has been promised, but, with one exception, nothing has come of it. My impression is that the Dean thinks our work is within" (p. 249).

A fortnight later she says: "It seems to me that the community wanted here is one for *God alone*—a community for reparation and adoration" (p. 250). Thus did Almighty God manifest His will, and after some five or six years of doubt, struggle, and desolation, they at last received Archbishop Reynolds's approbation to establish that Perpetual Adoration which they at once proceeded to make the grand object of their existence. Who can doubt of the necessity for such a work in the midst of the feverish and ceaseless activity of a South Australian colony, or of the blessing which it will bring on priests and flock? The devoted Superior, who had a large share of that bodily suffering which purifies the saints, saw the foundation-stone laid of the desired church, but died before it was consecrated. She was a woman of great good sense, of ardent affections (chastened by spiritual discipline), and of great personal influence. Her powers of literary expression were considerable; there are two letters (pp. 196-7) addressed to a priest, giving him some good advice (which he had asked for), which are as good as anything we have seen in a nun's biography for a long time.

A Memoir of Mother Frances Raphael, O.S.D. (Augusta Theodosia Drane). By the Rev. Father BERTRAND WILBERFORCE, O.P. London: Longmans. 1895.

A BIOGRAPHY of the late Mother Frances Raphael Drane was called for and was expected. F. Bertrand Wilberforce has accomplished the work with much skill and grace. In a certain

sense Mother Frances Raphael was already well known to our Catholic reading public, and even outside of that circle. Her writings, and above all, her poems, could not fail to impress upon the reader a sense of a personality so strong and so ardent as hers. But all her admirers will be grateful for the story of her earlier years—which is almost an autobiography—and for her many letters. It is a life and a career which is full of noble work, literary and religious, but there is nothing that comes out more strikingly than the capacity of a great mind and warm heart for self-restraint and self-discipline in Christ through grace.

Augustine of Canterbury. By EDWARD L. CUTTS, D.D. London : Methuen & Co.

THE omission of the prefix of holiness in the title of this book shows plainly that it emanates from a non-Catholic source. In spite of this it is an interesting volume, and with the exception of a few remarks regarding miracles and Papal authority, it might have been written by a Catholic. It is a pity that the author, contrary to the practice of all English historians, persists in withholding from St. Gregory the Great the title of Pope. He invariably styles the Pontiff—Bishop Gregory. Dr. Cutts might at least have called him St. Augustine's Patriarch, as the Bishop of Rome has always been, and is now Patriarch of the West. Such a frank acknowledgment of lawful authority would, we fear, completely shatter the theory of the "Italian Mission" of Lambeth origin. St. Gregory did not require usurped authority to bestow the Pall upon the first Archbishop of Canterbury, as he only exercised an act of jurisdiction canonically established both in the East and the West. It was the duty of the Patriarch to confirm the election of an archbishop before the prelate could assume metropolitan powers. Such being the case it was but reasonable that some outward indication of this confirmation should exist. This was secured in the Latin Church by the bestowal of the archiepiscopal Pallium, which had been solemnly blessed by the Pope, and had rested upon the tomb of the Apostle St. Peter. This privilege, reserved as it has been for centuries to the Apostolic See, has become over the whole world a symbol of Catholic unity and lawful jurisdiction.

We are sorry to have to call in question Dr. Cutts's chronology. In the chapter which treats of the synod held by St. Augustine with the British bishops on the banks of the Severn he gives A.D. 601 as the date of St. David of Menevia's death, and therefore gives the

reader to understand that the saint was present at that synod. Now the Bollandists assign the year 544 as the date of the decease of the patron of Wales. In this they concur with most historians. Dr. Rees, in his "Essay on the Welsh Saints," states that there is a difference of twenty years with regard to the date in question amongst chronologists, but he says positively that, whichever system is adopted, St. David's death must have taken place before St. Augustine's mission to the Anglo-Saxons. The date given by Dr. Cutts for the decease of St. Dyfrig (Dubritius) is still more strange, viz., 612. Considering that the saintly Bishop of Carleon resigned his see at the Council of Brevi in 522, and that he was then an old man, it is scarcely possible that he survived till 612.

Apart from these few shortcomings, this life of the Apostle of Anglo-Saxon England, and that of his successors down to St. Theodore, is well worth perusal. The extract that follows is a fair specimen of the spirit in which the book is written. Speaking of the ravages of the Yellow Plague in 664 and its results in England, he says :

The affairs of the Church were in confusion; with a double appointment in Northumbria, no bishop at all in Kent, and the East Saxon See vacant; with the Celtic customs still authorised in Mercia, and lingering in Northumbria and Essex, and the South Saxons still unconverted. The kings of Northumbria and Kent seem to have consulted together on the unsatisfactory state of things. We may with probability credit the older and more experienced, as well as most powerful, Oswy with the proposal that they should seek the consent of the other kings and churches to choose a man who would be acceptable to all, and send him to Rome to be consecrated there, and on his return to exercise the authority of an archbishop over all the churches and bring them into harmony. It was an admirable scheme, and, backed by the influence of the Bretwalda, it met with general acceptance. Wigheard, "a good man and fit priest," one of Deusdedit's clergy, apparently not a monk, was chosen, and sent with some companions to Rome. But Rome, half in ruins, and with the Campagna falling out of cultivation and becoming a breeding-place of malaria, was an unhealthy place; and Wigheard, with almost all his companions, died there of pestilence before he could be consecrated, and was buried at the Church of the Apostle St. Peter.

Pope Vitalian chose St. Theodore to replace the deceased archbishop-elect. Dr. Cutts does full justice to the wisdom of the Apostolic See in this appointment and the happy results that followed.

Compendium Sacræ Liturgiæ juxta Ritum Romanum.
Scripsit Pater Innocentius Wapelhorst, O.S.F. Ed. 5ta. Neo-Eboraci. Benziger Fratres.

Hymns of the Ecclesiastical Year with accompanying Tunes, and Six Benediction Services. London: Art and Book Co. 1895.

THE Compendium Sacræ Liturgiæ of Father Wapelhorst contains much more liturgical information than is usually found in Ceremonials. It is evidently drawn up to meet the needs of a real missionary clergy always on the move, and therefore often out of the reach of libraries. Its excellences are many. It will suffice, however, to draw attention to those of practical usefulness to all priests.

Besides giving in the text the ceremonies to be observed by the celebrant, the sacred ministers, and servers, the author has introduced diagrams which at a glance give the position of each one at a Pontifical Mass. This is most useful, especially to the assistant deacons when at the altar. It was thoughtful of the author to give the rites of the Jewish Paschal Supper, and to show how traces of these ceremonies still exist in every Christian Liturgy. In chapter xiii., article iv., the Apostolic, the Roman, and the Greek liturgies are placed in three parallel columns and compared with each other.

Chapter xiv. contains much valuable information. Its title, *De sensu literali et mystico singularium partium missæ*, tells us what we may there find. The whole chapter would serve admirably as a help to meditation. The priest who so uses it must derive great benefit from the practice, and greatly increase his devotion whilst celebrating at the holy altar.

Father Wapelhorst has devoted the third part of his ceremonial to the Roman Ritual. Most priests will find this portion of the book both instructive and practical. As it is but seldom that we are able in missionary countries to procure commentaries on the Ritual, the clergy of this country are sure to avail themselves of the help now proffered to them. The fact that this Compendium has already reached its fifth edition shows how wide-spread has been its diffusion throughout the United States of America.

The hymns published by the Art and Book Co. are all inserted in an index, which gives the first line of each hymn, the liturgical office from which it is taken, the name of the author or translator, and that of the composer of the music. Every great festival of the ecclesiastical year has its liturgical hymn given in the vernacular. The great founders of religious orders have each a song of praise.

The music for the chanting of the Rosary has been inserted, as also Benediction services. In all country missions the book ought to be found in the hands of the members of the congregation who are gifted by nature with melody of voice. Even in large town churches it deserves to become a popular manual.

John Wyclif. By LEWIS SERGEANT. London and New York : G. Putnam's Sons. 1893.

IT is never agreeable to have to notice a book unfavourably, but Mr. Sergeant's volume can scarcely be treated otherwise. A life of Wyclif could not be written without constant reference to many points at issue between Catholics and Protestants, and it is natural to expect that the latter will always lean to the side of the Rector of Lutterworth. This is a totally different thing from taking it for granted that Wyclif was always acting from saintly motives, and that the prelates and religious orders, opposed to his innovations in doctrine, were ever actuated by selfish and unchristian principles. The historian, to be worthy of the name, must always be just, and to ensure this he must thoroughly study both sides of the question of which he treats. This the author of the "Life of John Wyclif" has not done, as far as we may judge from the perusal of his work.

When a writer sits in judgment upon a dogmatic decision of the Vicar of Christ, we certainly expect him to know the exact meaning of the Papal definition. The interpretation put by Mr. Sergeant upon the pronouncement of the famous Bull of Boniface VIII., *Unam Sanctam*, is unwarrantable. It is exactly what we might expect from a writer who, not being conversant with Theology, Ecclesiastical History, and Canon Law, must be writing in the dark. A fair-minded man would at least have inquired what Catholic writers have said on such an important subject, before venturing to handle historical and dogmatic matters wholly beyond his sphere of knowledge. There was a time when such literary liberties might be taken with impunity, but happily that day has now passed away, and the English reading public look for fairness and justice in those who pose as historians.

Mr. Sergeant has been equally unhappy in his references to the history of the Franciscan Order. The Bull of Pope Nicholas III. *Exiit*, and that of John XXII. *Quorundam*, have most probably never been read or, perhaps, even seen by him. Most certainly he has utterly misunderstood their purport. It is useless to dwell

further upon the many misleading statements and wild conjectures in his work, as they will have little weight with most readers.

Publications of the Catholic Truth Society. London :
18 West Square, S.E.

THE sixpenny monthly *Catholic Magazine* which this Society has just started, began well in May and promises a successful career. It is bright, interesting and illustrated. The serial story, "Claudius," of which the scene is laid in the earliest years of Christianity and the principal figure is St. Paul, merits the high praise of recalling "Fabiola" and "Callista." A series of sketches of our Catholic Colleges, beginning with Stoneyhurst, should be both valuable and interesting. F. Thurston, S.J., writes on "Witchcraft," and Mr. Costelloe on "Christian Art;" and amongst other contributors are "Katharine Tynan" and Dr. Barry. The Editor is Lady Amabel Kerr.

The new Dean of Canterbury, who has been suffering lately from a new accession of Protestantism, has provoked from Catholic apologists two valuable replies, in which his shallow show of learning is well exposed, and which the Truth Society has done well to reprint. Preaching last Good Friday in Westminster Abbey, Dean Farrar gave expression to the typically Protestant dislike for the Cross; and not content with this, essayed to show that what he described as morbid meditation on the Passion was unprimitive, unscriptural and uncatholic. F. Thurston's reply is at once convincing and amusing. Apt quotations from the Dean's well-known "Life of Christ" furnish him with a valid *argumentum ad hominem*, and exhibit the absurdity of "Farrar reproving sentimentalism;" whilst more permanent value attaches to a sketch of the evidence from S. Scripture and the primitive church for the traditional observance of Good Friday. F. Procter's little pamphlet was occasioned by the Dean's including Savonarola among the leaders or "harbingers" of the Reformation. Coming from the pulpit as be seems the rejoinder of a Friar Preacher, it is couched in more rhetorical tone than F. Thurston's, but is none the less serious and well-grounded. The gist of the reply may be summed up in the words of the Calvinist Bayle:—

"It is very strange that Protestants should number among their martyrs a friar who during his lifetime had always celebrated Mass and invoked the Saints, and who at the hour of his death went to Confession and Communion, made an act of faith in the Real Presence, and humbly accepted a plenary indulgence granted him by the Pope" (p. 5).

"The Land of Mist and Mountain" is a series of Irish sketches full of pathos and quiet beauty, from the graceful pen of Mrs. Hinkson (Katharine Tynan). Perhaps they are too sad and too devoid of incident or adventure to be popular in the ordinary sense; otherwise they come very near to a type of story greatly wanted for general diffusion, wherein Catholicism underlies and pervades the whole, without being unduly paraded. The best of the sketches is "A Saint," the least satisfactory, to our mind, "An Exile's Sister."

"The Venerable Edward Oldcorne, S.J.," was martyred for alleged complicity in Gunpowder Plot. His *Life*, by Father McLeod, S.J. is very readable and edifying, and includes a graphic account of the labours and sufferings of missionary priests in England under Elizabeth. Three valuable Lectures by the Bishop of Clifton on "Re-union of England with Rome," are also being republished. As we write the members and friends of the Society are met in Conference at Bristol; we sincerely hope that their deliberations will result in strengthening and developing the admirable work upon which the Catholic Truth Society is engaged.

Selected Feast-day Hymns, literally translated, in the original metre and rhythm, by J. P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D. Latin and English. London and Leamington: The Art and Book Co. 1895.

WE cannot conceive what purpose is expected to be served by this translation of the Church's hymns. The genius of the English language, its rhythm, accents and metre, are so diverse from those of Latin, that a literal translation of liturgical verse, hampered by such restrictions as the author adopts, was foredoomed to failure. The difficulties were not diminished by the evident fact that English is a foreign language to the translator, who, undeterred by danger, has yet essayed a task from which Pope, or Dryden, or Caswall might well have shrunk. Dr. Val D'Eremao admits in his preface that "it needed some courage to put forth yet one more" translation of these hymns—some will think that another word than *courage* would best describe what prompts a man to put forth such prosy, halting, unrhymical verse as this:

"Thou all-creating Lord! recall
That of our body, sometime gone,"
In Virgin's womb, most sacred hall,
By birth the form Thou didst put on" (p. 3).

* * * *

"A novel kind of power behold!
The waters blush, in jars arranged!
And when to pour out wine 'twas told,
Its nature water straightway changed" (p. 7).

* * * *

"Alone, 'mong cities where men live,
Thou greatest, Bethlehem! decreed
Salvation's Chief from heaven to give
In human body born inleed" (p. 9).

If an accurate translation of these hymns were wanted it should have been done in prose; no object, literary, devotional, or liturgical being gained by turning sacred poetry into doggerel like this:

"Thou mountest o'er the starry sphere,
To where does God himself assign
(And not to mortals dwelling here)
To Thee, o'er all things, power divine;
That this creation's orders three,—
Or things of heaven, or earth they be,
Or under earth,—all made by Thee,—
Should humbly bend the subject knee" (p. 27).

"Come, O Creating Breath Divine!
Visit the intellects of Thine,
And fill our hearts with heavenly grace,
Which their existence to Thee trace" (p. 31).

Or again:

"Unto the weak He His flesh truly gave as food,
Gave to the sad, too, the cup of His holy blood,
Saying: 'Receive what I give in this chalice good,
All drink from it in my memory!
Thus this new sacrifice did He then institute,
Of which the offering service He did depute
Unto priests only, who first take, then distribute
To all the others, as willed He" (p. 49).

As for singing these verses to the old Gregorian tones, as the author fondly hopes, we should pity the choir that tried to fit the Mechlin chant to the following version of the "*Ave maris stella*."

"Hail, Star of this vast sea!
God's lov'd mother and yet
Always virgin purely,
Happy gate to heaven set.

* * * *

Sinners free from chains strong,
To us, blind, true light bring,
Drive from us all our wrong,
Ask for us each good thing.

Prove thyself our mother,
 Make our prayers received be
 By Him who, our Brother,
 Born for us was of thee" (p. 54).

To judge by the way in which he prints it on p. 66, the author is unaware that the "*Alma Redemptoris Mater*" is written in hexameters, and his version in this case is certainly not in the same metre as the original. Altogether one wonders how the *Censor deputatus* could write "*Nihil obstat*" before the publication. It contains, of course, nothing that is contrary to faith or morals; it is ingenious and well-intentioned; but it has practically resulted in making the sacred hymns ridiculous; and from this the *Censor* might surely have saved us.

Devotions in Honour of S. Thomas of Canterbury. Second Edition. W. Knott, 26 Brooke Street, Holborn.

THIS Manual of Devotions, put forth anonymously, with a Preface by a well-known Anglican clergyman, is altogether Catholic in its tone and spirit, consisting as it does mainly of Masses and Offices in honour of St. Thomas, taken from the Sarum Missal and Breviary; the metrical antiphons and responses, and the majority of the hymns having been translated specially for this work; the rest of the compilation comprising various other prayers, litanies, and hymns. Mr. Worth's preface (we speak of the second edition) is valuable, as showing the antiquity of the Catholic doctrine and practice of the invocation of Saints, at least as far back as the fourth century. It might have been added that the Roman Catacombs testify to the direct invocation of the martyrs in the third century. Origen would be another witness of this period; and St. Irenæus and St. Justin in the second century. This brings us close to the inspired writings, which are not wanting in testimony to the same. Altogether we consider this little Manual admirably calculated to do its share in dissipating the mists of ignorance and prejudice which still obscure the minds of so many of our countrymen. It has been inspired throughout by a fervent devotion to the great Archbishop who championed, even unto the shedding of His Blood, the authority of the Holy See, and whose intercession and blessing have been well merited by this loving tribute from one who cannot be far from "the Kingdom of God."

Loreto, the New Nazareth. By WILLIAM GARRATT, M.A.
London and Leamington : The Art and Book Co. 1895.

THE occurrence on December 10 of this year of the sixth centenary of the miraculous translation of the Holy House of Loreto to its present site renders the appearance of a volume on the history and aspect of the sanctuary especially appropriate. The present work, which has already attained a circulation of 55,000 in five different languages, is admirably adapted to be the pilgrim's *vade mecum*, as it contains in a compact form all the information he can require, while the fifty engravings with which it is illustrated add to the interest and intelligibility of the text. The evidence for the authenticity of this most venerable and august relic is clearly stated, as well as the history of some of the subsequent miracles by which it has been confirmed. The Ark of the New Covenant, it invests the hill above Recanati, which it has chosen for its resting-place, with a sanctity of which that of Solomon's Temple was but a type. It is interesting to note that the building now in Italy formed only a portion of the actual habitation of the Holy Family, which, like many Eastern dwellings, consisted of excavations in the rocks, either natural or artificial, by which access was given to the interior portion built of brickwork. According to the accepted tradition the Holy House of Nazareth was the home of Our Lady's parents, in which she was born, and which she inherited from them. St. Joseph, who came to live in it after his marriage, had his workshop, according to the custom in Nazareth and the East generally, in a street in the town.

Reviews in Brief.

On the Road to Rome: And How Two Brothers Got There. By WILLIAM RICHARDS. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 1895.—In a little book of a hundred and seventeen pages of large print, an American gives an account of his own and his brother's conversion. If it does not contain anything very new, or very striking, or very original, its arguments are offered in a plain and straightforward manner. Possibly this particular *apologia* may be precisely the book most likely to convert some particular Protestant; and, if so, it has our best wishes. At worst, it is well-intended.

St. Chantal and the Foundation of the Visitation. By Mgr. BOUGAUD, Bishop of Laval. Translated from the eleventh French edition. By a Visitandine. With a Preface by His Eminence Cardinal GIBBONS. New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers. 1895.—Many will welcome these two well got-up volumes. The Abbé Bougaud's Life of St. Jane Frances of Chantal was the work of his youth, and it was through it that he was introduced to Bishop Dupanloup, whose Vicar-General and intimate friend he afterwards became. The biography is written in a large, dignified and devout style, with due attention to contemporary history. Mgr. Bougaud prepared for his task with the utmost diligence, and made many discoveries of letters and documents which he here prints or uses for the first time. There are few inaccuracies, even if we judge the work by the light of Canon Mackay's labours. The translator has done her part with good success, and has enriched this edition by a translation of Bishop Dupanloup's admirable Essay on the writing of Saints' lives.

La Guerre Sino-Japonaise et ses Conséquences pour l'Europe. Par F. De VILLENOISY. Paris: Henri Charles. Lavauzelle. 1895.—This pamphlet is full of unmitigated ill-will towards our country. When its author says that the late war between Japan and China was one of the most important political events of modern times, we are much of his mind; when he goes on to foretell all sorts of misfortunes to England as its principal consequence, we cannot agree with him quite so readily; especially

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since it has occurred to us that there is such a thing as the wish being father to the thought. He desires a triple alliance between Japan, France, and Russia; and he tries to make out that in that "logic of events," of which his fellow-countrymen are so fond of talking, it is certain to follow. If we are not mistaken, this selfsame "logic of events" was to have led the French to Berlin a quarter of a century ago; and, without entering into details, we may observe that there may be more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in the author's diplomacy.

La Femme Studieuse. Par Monseigneur DUPANLOUP. Sixth Edition. Paris: Pierre Téqui. 1895.—The advantages and necessity of serious mental occupation for women at the present day is the theme of this invaluable little volume, which will well repay the study of ladies of all countries. The utility of some form of intellectual discipline as an antidote to the vacuity which results from a life spent in the mere search for amusement, and for the *ennui* which is the fruitful parent of vice, is here urged with an eloquence and force which make the argument no less attractive than convincing. The first conditions insisted on as essential to the success of any attempt at self-improvement are regularity of hours and perseverance in following out the subjects chosen for study. A book, according to the learned author, in order to render it really useful as food for thought, should be read with the pen in the hand, to write down such ideas as it suggests or to copy out particular passages which especially strike the attention. It is interesting to note that he strongly disapproves of the practice of keeping a diary, as tending to destroy simplicity of mind and to foster a habit of posing for posterity or the public. All other duties will, he contends, be better performed by the aid of the habit of mental discipline and the influence of the wife and mother over husband and children rendered far more potent by the strength of character gained by serious application. Indiscriminate reading is, on the other hand, strenuously condemned by the learned bishop, and he comments severely on the laxity of some Catholic ladies in reading such books as those of Renan and others of his school.

The City of the Crimson Walls. By STEPHEN FOREMAN. London: Kegan Paul. 1895. The author's command of poetic imagery and diction enables him to clothe in fitting language the tragical subjects he has chosen. He has, moreover, the gift, rare among poets at the present day, of telling a story so as to command the reader's interest instead of making his verse a mere vehicle for

the expression of his own vague and shifting moods. The first and longest poem, which gives its title to the volume, consists of a series of lurid pictures unfolding a gruesome drama of crime and retribution, with an element of the supernatural to give added effect to its weird impressiveness.

Kerrigan's Quality. By JANE BARLOW. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894. The fame acquired by Miss Barlow's graphic vignettes of Irish life gives a double interest to her first venture in fiction on a large scale. But while we have here the same felicitous touches of description, the same vivid power of characterisation, which marked out "Irish Idyls" and "Bogland Studies" as the work of a consummate literary artist, we do not think that the present volume will add to the writer's reputation. The link uniting the two sets of personages is somewhat artificially forged, and the interest flags with the appearance on the scene of the genteel characters who become known to the villagers as "Kerrigan's Quality," from the name of their landlord, the returned colonist. Kerrigan himself is a pathetic figure, and the disappointment of his home-coming to an altered world is touchingly realized. Among many beautifully written passages, that descriptive of life in the Australian bush seems to us the most striking from its tragical power of calling up the grim horrors of the situation. The volume is adorned with eight charming illustrations thoroughly characteristic of Irish scenery and manners.

A Gentleman of France. By STANLEY J. WEYMAN. London: Longmans & Co. 1894.—The astonishing power of vivifying the past shown by Mr. Stanley Weyman, Mr. Conan Doyle, Mr. Louis Stevenson, and others of their school, has restored the historical novel to its place in English literature. The perils and chances through which Gaston de Marsac, the hero of the present work, wins his way to fortune and the heart of his lady-love, have their framework in the wars of the League, and the struggle which ended in the triumph of Henri IV. The wild and tumultuous scenes of this period of storm and stress seem to pass before us as we read, and the pages glow with vivid pictures of the historical events intertwined with the fate of the personages of the tale. Among the most forcible of such presentments are the descriptions of the ravages of the plague in rural France, of the courts of the two Henrys of Valois and Bourbon, and of the assassination of the former and accession of his cousin. The latter event forms the closing episode of the tale from its decisive effect on the fortunes of the hero. This

stirring and spirited romance accordingly ends with the triumph of gallantry and honour over all the intrigues of malice and bad faith.

De Ci, de Là. Par General COSSERON DE VILLENOISY. Paris, Téqui. 1895.—These graceful little essays are entitled "*Causeries d'un Père de Famille*," and were written, as the author says in his preface, from notes on miscellaneous subjects originally jotted down for the instruction and amusement of his children. In their present form they may serve to interest a larger audience, and to convey at the same time in an agreeable form much information that may be new to general readers. The writer's charm of style gives novelty and freshness to such simple themes as deep-sea fishing, the material of clothing, the effect of glass on domestic life, &c., while the knowledge gathered in a very wide and extensive course of reading lends value as well as charm to the familiar treatment. The sights and objects encountered in an imaginary journey down a river furnish two delightful little *causeries*, in which fish culture, river transport, bridge construction, and other kindred topics are touched on with a lightness that is anything but superficial. For children learning French there could not be a more admirable volume both as to style and matter.

Le Secret Fatal. Par LUCIEN THOMIN. Paris, Téqui. 1895.—The forests of Annam and the typhoon-swept China Seas furnish the scenery for M. Thomin's stirring narrative of adventure. The principal personages escape from a sinking ship on an open raft, only to find themselves exposed to still more imminent danger at the hands of the emissaries of Tu-Duc, the Annamite ruler, in whose dominions they are cast ashore. Here they witness the constancy in torments and death of the Christian martyrs, whose fate they are delivered from by the opportune arrival of a French ship-of-war at the mouth of the river. The hero's life is overshadowed by the threatened vengeance of a sect of conspirators whose secret he has surprised, until the death of their agent at the close of the last chapter delivers him from this incubus, just as his marriage to a beautiful Spaniard renders life doubly dear.

Hariulf; Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier. Publiée par F. Lot. Picard et Fils. Paris. 1894. 10 frs.—This is one of the texts published under the auspices of the Société Historique. It was compiled in the eleventh century by Hariulf, a monk of the great Benedictine house in the East of France; and has the same value for French historical studies as Matthew Paris and the other

monastic annalists have for English history. The editorial work has evidently been done with much care and completeness; especially the tracing out the sources whence Hariulf derived his information.

Saint Étienne et Son Sanctuaire à Jerusalem. Par le P. LAGRANGE. Picard et Fils. Paris. 1894. 5 frs.—This very interesting volume describes the excavations made in the garden of the Dominican house of Biblical Studies. These have laid open the remains of the church built by the Empress Eudoxia over the sepulchre of St. Stephen. The profits of the sale of the book are to go towards defraying the cost of the excavations, and to erecting an effective, but simple and pleasing, church on the same site.

East Syrian Daily Offices. Translated by Dean A. J. MACLEAN. Prepared for the Eastern Church Association. London: Rivington, Percival & Co. 8s. 6d.—This volume is an attempt to set before Western readers something of the fixed parts of the Daily Office of the Nestorian Christians and of the Uniates who have been reconciled to the Church. The order and structure of the whole is so different from those of the Western breviary, that it will probably be unintelligible to most students, unless they have mastered Fr. Zimmermann's articles on this subject. Many of the prayers are very beautiful, especially the antiphons and responses, which are more elaborate and longer than ours; they are also of great value, as testifying to the belief of the Syrian Church before the Council of Ephesus: though the translator is right in urging caution in employing this argument, as it is certain that these religious bodies borrowed from each other details that were popular and interesting.

La Journée des Malades. Par L'ABBÉ HENRI PERREYVE. Dixième édition. Paris: Téqui. 1895.—By reaching a tenth edition this little work has conclusively proved its right to put in an appearance amongst the innumerable literary productions of our day. Both in style and matter "La Journée des Malades" is a remarkable book. Its author, an honorary Canon of Orléans and a professor at La Sorbonne, writes with grace, heart and experience. His subject is evidently one which, for being familiar to him, is not the less felt. In visiting the sick-room he brings with him sunshine and sympathy—the light of healing faith and the magnetism of tactful compassion. There are three divisions in this handy manual. In the first, thoughts suitable to the morning are brought before the invalid. The entrance of dawn into the sick chamber, the sound of church bells summoning the strong to Holy Mass, and other inci-

dents are seized upon in a most easy and natural way, and made to convey the most encouraging lessons to the bed-ridden. The same process is followed in the other divisions of the book, and the relations between the invalid and his medical adviser, as well as those between him and his soul's friend—the priest—are treated with conciseness and theological precision. A valuable introduction has been prefixed to L'Abbé Perreyve's book by the eminent oratorian Father Pététot. It contains excellent advice to the sick and to their friends about the time when the priest should be summoned. To our working clergy, to Catholic nurses, religious or lay, and to every sick person we can safely recommend "*La Journée des Malades*" as a publication helpful in the highest degree. G. H.

Vade Mecum for Colleges, Academies, Sodalties. By a FATHER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. Fifth edition. St. Louis, Mo.: Herder. 1894.—The author's object is to offer boys in schools where the *Prima Primaria* exists a sodality manual and a book of private devotions. Even where the Jesuit sodality is not instituted, boys will find the "Vade Mecum" extremely useful in its selection of general prayers adapted to their age and environment. Besides the Rules of the Sodality, the book contains a hymnal noted and the Little Office of the Immaculate Conception in Latin and English.

The Beloved Disciple. By the Rev. FATHER RAWES, D.D. Third edition. London: Burns & Oates.—The publishers have been well advised to bring out a new edition of this little book about "the Disciple whom Jesus loved." Wherever the names of our Redeemer and His Holy Mother are known, hearts preserve a tender affection for St. John the Divine. The passages in the Sacred Gospels where his name occurs suggest so many questions to contemplative souls, that any writings which comment on those texts will be eagerly received and scanned. Nearly twenty years have elapsed since Fr. Rawes brought out this volume of his deep and poetic works. To many of those who read it on its first appearing, "The Beloved Disciple" will come back with a sense of freshness, and to those who have never dipped into the book, it comes as a new and valuable acquaintance. Sitting at the feet of the author, we are made to examine and study the precious stones, or scripture texts, which adorn the crown of the Virgin Disciple. Luminous expositions of Gospel scenes cause St. John to stand before us and his earthly glory to break upon us. Step by step we are taken by Father Rawes, from the School of the Precursor, where our Saint was prepared for the Apostolic College, through the painful course of

exercises which formed the heart of the Confessor, on to the training of the Doctor of the Church. St. John is presented to us as a Virgin, as a Martyr, the Prophet of the new Creation, as the Saint of the Precious Blood and the Sacred Heart, and as the Child of Mary, who was to fill with regard to that Mother the place of her Divine Son. Every chapter in this book contains mines of suggestive thought and heart-subduing reflection. The tender sermon preached on St. John by Saint Charles Borromeo fittingly closes the volume.

Manuel de l'Archiconfrérie de N. D. des Victoires. Par M. l'Abbé P. FERRAND. Nouvelle édition. Bourges. Tardy-Pigelet. 1895.—Here in a volume of convenient size we have the life of M. des Genettes and a complete manual of the world-wide archconfraternity which he founded. The history of the establishment of the association is given in the very words of the holy parish priest of Notre Dame des Victoires. Several illustrations add to the attractiveness of this pleasantly written book.

Ancient Devotions to the Sacred Heart. By CARTHUSIAN MONKS. London: Burns & Oates.—It is one of the finest glories of the Sons of St. Bruno that they hold a prominent place amongst the forerunners of the Venerable Père Eudes and Blessed Margaret Mary, and that the Heart of Jesus had Its lovers and Its devout clients in the solitude and silence of La Chartreuse. This little book, which comes to us through a French translation, is compiled exclusively from the writings of Carthusian monks who lived, for the most part, before the Institution of the Feast of the Sacred Heart. The passages rendered in excellent English date from as far back as the fourteenth century. They are full of unction and life. Whether they be taken for the subject of spiritual reading or as matter for mental prayer they will be found most helpful. The Elevations to the Sacred Heart are replete with rich thoughts and suggestive reflections based on the soundest theology. Amongst the authors quoted we find the names of Ludolph of Saxony, Dominic of Treves, Denys the Carthusian, Lansperg, and other great mediæval ascetics. Printers and publishers have turned out a handy, readable, and well-bound volume.

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- De ci, de là.** Causeries d'un Père de Famille. Général Cosseron de Villenoisy. Paris. Téqui: 8vo, pp. 404.
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